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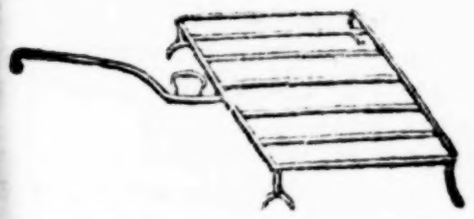

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

Bolt-court, 10th May, 1832.

Under circumstances like the present, the great thing to do is to put safely upon record the facts as they have arisen, and then to offer to the reader such opinions as the writer may entertain respecting those facts, and their consequences. The readers of the *Register* are aware, that after the Reform Bill had been read a second time in the House of Lords, I was of opinion that Lord Grey was ready to give up the most popular part of the bill in the committee; and that the Tories were willing that he should remain in place upon that condition. I have seen and heard nothing to alter that opinion. The long adjournment gave the people time to move, and to express their determination not to be content with anything short of the whole bill. This determination was expressed so strongly, and the expression came pouring in so loudly from all quarters, that Lord Grey saw nothing short of infamy before him, if he gave way upon the points above mentioned. The Tories, seeing this, and hearing his declaration, that he would not give way with regard to the 10*l.* clause; and knowing, indeed, that it was impossible for him to give way without infamy, resolved to trip him up altogether; they knowing that the King would not furnish him with the means of carrying on the bill in opposition to them.

When, therefore, the House of Lords met on the 7th of May, a motion was made, which, in fact, was a motion to take the management of the bill wholly out of the hands of the Ministers. It had been read a second time, and thereupon the Tories built their excuse for changing their tactics: they became friends of reform; and, as will be seen by their speeches, and particularly that of Ellenborough, of even a more extended reform than that which the bill itself contemplated! Upon a motion of Lord Lyndhurst, respecting the order in which the clauses should be discussed in the committee, Lord Grey made *his stand*. He was beaten, on a division, by a great majority. The Tories manifestly expected, that as this was merely a matter of manner of proceeding, he would give way here, and that thus he would become their mere tool in carrying on the discussions on the several parts of the bill. He, taught at last to do that which he ought to have done in October, seeing clearly that he must become the most contemptible of men, and finally be voted out of his place, made his stand at once; moved an adjournment of the committee from the 7th to the 10th. In the meanwhile, that is to say on the 8th, he went to Windsor, in company with the Lord Chancellor; there advised the King to create peers sufficient to enable them to carry the bill; and the King having refused to do this, they tendered the resignation of their offices, of which, on the 9th, the King "*graciously accepted.*"

Below I have inserted the fullest and most accurate reports that I can find, first of the debate of the seventh of May, and second of the debate in both Houses of Parliament of the ninth of May. These contain full information as to the immediate causes of the change of the Ministry. I am writing on Thursday, and shall notice briefly, if I can, to-morrow morning, that which passes to-night in the House of Commons, where, as the reader will perceive from the report of last night's proceedings, a motion is to be made by Lord Ebrington for an address to the King on matters relating to this event. To offer opinions as to how the House of Com-

mons will act would be perfectly useless, since the fact must be known in the course of a very few hours; but I cannot help fearing that that House will now show us that there is an absolute necessity for reforming it; in short, I fear that it will show that it is perfectly ready to support the new Ministry; for, though it is possible that there may be a majority to express their sorrow for the ousting of the late Ministers, I am of opinion that it will be clearly gathered, from the tone of the debate, that the new Ministry will meet with no very strenuous opposition. But what is a vast deal more material is, what line the Tories will now pursue. There is the bill in their hands; the King has refused his consent to adopt the advice of his late Ministers, in order to enable them to carry the bill through; and the Tories have either to carry that bill or a better bill through, or to encounter, in conjunction with the King, the effects of the ill-will and resentment of the people.

With regard to the conduct of the King, it does not appear that he ever gave his pledge to the Ministers that he would create the peers sufficient for the carrying of the bill. It is said, indeed, that he promised them to create the peers if necessary to cause the bill to pass a *second reading*. This would have been a strange promise to make, and it would be still stranger if it had satisfied them; for, what would have been the use of the second reading, when all the world knows that the bill might have been rendered wholly nugatory in the committee? Yet there are circumstances which seem to countenance this opinion. The curious change of HARROWBY and WHARNCLIFFE; the curious change in some of the BISHOPS; and then WHARNCLIFFE and HARROWBY changing back again after the second reading; there being a majority of thirty-five for LYNDHURST's motion, while there was a majority of nine on the other side for the second reading; HARROWBY and WHARNCLIFFE voting *against* the Ministers after the second reading, and voting *for* them before: all these circumstances put together do seem to warrant the opinion that the King had promised Lord GREY to make peers for the second reading, if necessary; and that he had not promised him, and did not intend, to make peers after the second reading; and that the Tories *knew all this!*

However, with regard to the conduct of the King as to this matter; with regard to the question as between him and his people, the matter stands thus: he, having the power to make the peers, had the power to cause his people to have the Reform Bill, and, therefore, in refusing to make the peers, *he did, in fact, refuse to let his people have the Reform Bill*, unless, observe, he now choose Ministers who will carry through that bill, and will put it into full execution. This is the true state of the case: we have no occasion to pester ourselves with any stories or speculations about promises made by the King; it is no thing to us whether he ever made any promises upon the subject or not. We see a bill brought in and passed by the House of Commons. We see the people everywhere expressing the most earnest wishes that the bill should pass. We hear from every corner of the kingdom expressions of admiration of the King's conduct, and of gratitude for his goodness in becoming the patron of the bill. We see the bill opposed by the Lords; we see the King with power to make their opposition of no avail. We are looking to him for the exercise of that power; it is at last brought to this: that he is to give us the bill or we are not to have it. He refuses to exert his power, and he therefore refuses to let us have the bill. Unless, as I said before, he choose Ministers who will at once give us this bill or a better bill, and to be better it must be more extensive as to the right of suffrage which it gives.

My readers will bear me witness that I have always, from the very first, expressed my opinion that the King, as well as the rest of his family, were decidedly hostile to any reform of the Parliament at all, and much more to a reform of the description provided

by this bill. Upon every suitable occasion I have not only expressed this opinion, but in support of it have stated reasons which I never found any one to answer. Whether I looked at the conduct of the persons about the court; whether I looked at the persons composing the select parties of the King and Queen; whether I looked at the King's movements as towards the city or in other directions; whatever I beheld indicative of his wishes or intentions as to this matter, presented me with nothing but marks of hostility to the bill. But what could any reasonable man want more than the conduct of the Tories, and particularly of the bishops! Could any man in his senses believe, that they would have voted as they did had they not been well assured that they had the King with them? Besides, though Lord GREY has shown a disposition to truckle to the Tories; though he has done things in this way almost surpassing belief; still, would he have retained the Commander-in-chief; would he have retained all the Tory Lord-Lieutenants; would he have subjected Ireland to new Tory Lord-Lieutenants; would he, in short, have done these and many other things of the sort that might be named, if he had had the cordial support of the King? I am, therefore, disgusted when I hear him and BROUGHAM and ALTHORP boasting of the uniform kindness and condescension which they have received at the hands of the King! This is no more, however, than a repetition of the language of Lord GREY after he had been turned out by George III. in 1807. "*Kindness and condescension*," indeed! Those gentlemen should remember Gil Blas's account of the squeezings and wringings of DON CALDERON! Gil Blas drew a very different conclusion from these demonstrations of kindness: they set him to calculate the number of hours that he should have to remain in office. In short, to give it the mildest term, to talk in this manner, and under such circumstances, is weakness in the extreme, and is mischievous, too; because it puzzles people in general, and makes them hardly know that they have to think of the conduct of the parties. My readers will recollect, that, in October last, when the bill was thrown out by the Lords *without a second reading*, I pressed Lord GREY to do one of two things: make new peers to carry the bill in its then form, or resign and tell the people in a most explicit manner, that the King would not consent to make the peers; for that this he must do first or last, or be covered with infamy. This he has done, at last; but mark, the vast disadvantage under which he does it now, compared with the having done it in the month of October. If he had done it then, the majority of the peers were regarded by the people as the decided enemies of all reform whatsoever. Now a majority of the peers, a majority of those who have turned out Lord GREY, profess themselves to be friends of reform, and of an *extended reform* too, and even give hints that they intend to go further than he has gone. If he had done it then the people would have seen no possibility of getting a reform except through him, and therefore they would have upheld him as identified with that measure. If he had done it then he would, as I then told him, have been carried down to Windsor upon the shoulders of the people. That may not be the case now, for though he has at last done the thing that is right, and though, as respects this reform, the nation will always owe him great gratitude, still they may, I fear, be satisfied with his reform though they receive it through other hands. Nevertheless, better late than never; he has now acted the proper part, and his opponents *feel it too!* He is out of place and out of power, but he has made that place and that power a bed of thorns, if ever there were a bed of thorns in this world. They must now do one of three things—carry on the bill and put it in execution; bring in a better bill, that is to say, one more popular; or carry on a Government *without taxes*. Then, let it be observed, they have now to deal with opponents in Parliament who are for the Reform Bill and not against it. They have to deal with men who will now cordially take part with the people.

Let them attempt to fritter away the efficiency of the bill. Let them attempt to raise the qualification for voting, or to retain the rotten boroughs; let them attempt anything of this sort, and they will hear what a peal will be wrung in their ears. The cause of the people is infinitely stronger than it was before; they have now advocates such as they had not before in the two Houses; those advocates are not restrained in many respects as they were restrained before. Hitherto they have had a double office to perform, namely, to plead for the people's rights, and at the same time to check the zeal of the people; the latter is no longer a part of their business, and the former office they are urged to perform by every motive that can animate men, not by any means leaving out of account the resentment justly due to that double-dealing which they have experienced at the hands of their adversaries; and if the King and his family should now experience inconvenience from the discontents and claims of the people, the late Ministers can truly say that no part of that inconvenience, and that none of the consequences, arising from the same cause is ascribable to them. No opposition that ever existed stood upon ground so fair and so firm; and no ministry upon ground so clearly that of faction, and, therefore, the most slippery possible. What! now do that which they called it all but treason in others for attempting to do; and yet, if they do not do it, they are at open war with the whole nation. I should not be at all surprised to see them, as in the case of Catholic emancipation, go further than their rivals ever proposed to go. I should not be at all surprised to see them lower that qualification, which they have a thousand times over declared to be too low, and to lop off rotten boroughs with a more unsparing hand than those whom they will have succeeded. Something of this sort they must do, in order to be able to keep the country at peace; and, for which there are no words to express sufficient reprobation, they will now do, not only without exciting the gratitude of the people towards the Government and the King, but will do, under the contempt of the people, that which their opponents would have done with the gratitude of the people towards all the powers of the state. The first duty of a minister, who is sworn to advise the King to the best of his understanding, is to watch over the safety of the whole people; his next duty is (and, indeed, it is equal to the former) to watch over the safety of the King; and, in that watching, he is not only to attend to his master's immediate personal safety; but to his reputation and to the upholding of all those appearances, and cherishing in the minds of the people all those sentiments which tend to the maintenance of the authority, the dignity, of the King, and the love of the people towards him. How will the Tory Minister stand, then? He will have seen the King but the other day, the most popular of any one that ever sat on the throne; he will have heard him called the "*patriot King*"; and he will find him that which he may find described in the newspapers and at public meetings, which will serve his purpose better than any description from me. And, let not this Tory Minister pretend that this truly melancholy change is ascribable to Lord GREY. He gave the advice, which, if it had been followed, would have prevented this change. He, instead of causing this change with regard to his master, has exposed himself to a thousand disagreeable imputations in order to spare his master the mortification of experiencing such change. He has kept the secret undivulged to the last possible moment; for the last moment it certainly was, when he must either let out the secret, or himself be covered with infamy. Therefore, let the Tory Minister, be he who he may, not attempt to cast the blame upon Lord GREY: let him take it all to himself: it is he, we shall say, who has been the adviser of the refusal to make the peers; and it is to him that the King will have to address himself as to the responsibility for the consequences. The Tories, the enemies of reform, were so full of exultation at

the thought of ousting their rivals for power, that they wholly overlooked the consequences. They imagined that they could step in, take to the bill, make it a little more popular, if necessary, and thereby make themselves more popular than their rivals had been. At first, and indeed, from the first of March, 1831, until that day in April, 1832, when the second reading of the bill took place, they had appeared before the nation and the world as a combined body, resolved at all hazards to combat a reform of the Parliament. But, a year had taught them that this combat could be carried on no longer; that they must give way; that the nation would have the reform. For the reform to be finally carried, and for them to remain opposed to it to the last; for the reform to be carried; for the people to get the power into their hands, and see in them still a band of bitter enemies, was too manifestly perilous. On the other hand, to turn about and to support these Ministers and their bill, was what their pride and their vindictive feeling would not allow them to do. They therefore resolved to take possession of the bill themselves; and, in order to gain over the people, to give them as much, at the least, as their opponents would have given them. They did not consider, that this change of place would lay them at the mercy of those opponents: they did not consider *that their motives would all be seen through*; they did not consider, that the people would always regard them as enemies to reform in their hearts; and, above all things, they did not consider the *vast consequence* that this manœuvre of theirs *must produce with respect to the King!* They did not consider that the words "*Patriot King*" would not incommode their slumbers, though they were to give universal suffrage and voting by ballot!

As to what *the people will do*, they will do as they have always done when they have not been deluded; that is, act *justly*, and act with *cool determination*. However they may differ as to other feelings, they all love and honour their country, they are humane in their very nature; every man has a respect for the rights of his neighbour; they will neither tear their country to pieces, nor suffer others to tear it to pieces. They feel, *as one man*, in favour of *Lord Grey*, who has *now* done that which has removed away every fear with regard to his intentions, and has produced a restoration of confidence in him. All his *long forbearance:* all his *useless efforts at conciliation;* all his *excessive complaisance* towards the enemies of reform: all these we now forget, or remember them only as adding to the savage baseness of the conduct of his enemies. Every drop of honest blood in the nation has been roused for him, and *against* his false and perfidious foes, in whom the people see *their own implacable and deadly enemies.*

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, last night, Lord EBRINGTON made the following motion for an address to the King:—"That an humble address be "presented to his Majesty, humbly to "represent to his Majesty the deep re- "gret felt by this House at the change "that has been announced in his Ma- "jesty's Councils by the retirement of "those Ministers in whom this House "continues to repose unabated confi- "dence. That this House, in conform- "ity with the recommendation con- "tained in his Majesty's most gracious "speech from the throne, has framed, "and sent up to the House of Lords, a "bill for the reform of the representa- "tion of the people, by which they are "convinced that the prerogative of the "Crown, the authority of both Houses "of Parliament, and the rights and li- "berties of the people, are duly secured. "That in the progress of this measure "the House of Commons considers it- "self bound in duty to state to his Ma- "jesty, that his subjects are looking "with the most intense interest and "anxiety, and they cannot disguise from "his Majesty, that the taking of any "step which would impair its efficiency "would be productive of the greatest "disappointment. That this House is "therefore impelled by an attachment "to his Majesty's person and throne, "humbly, but most earnestly, to implore

" his Majesty to call to his councils such " persons only as will carry into effect, " unimpaired in all its essential provi- " sions, that bill for the reform of the " representation of the people which " has recently passed this House."

The House, after a long debate, divided upon this motion, and the numbers were 288 *for*, and 208 against! There, then! the King has now to *dissolve the Parliament again*, or to find new Ministers to carry on the government without supplies, or choose Ministers that will pass the Reform Bill! I have no time for comment on the debate: I am compelled to go to press directly. I applaud the whole of this address, except the words "*humble*" and "*humbly*," which appear to me to be redundant. All the nation is in motion: there is a mental convulsion in the country: if the King have one single sincere friend upon earth, he will go to him and implore him to take Lord GREY back to his councils immediately.

WM. COBBETT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

7th May, 1832.

REFORM (ENGLAND) BILL.

Earl GREY moved the order of the day for the House going into committee on the Reform Bill.

The LORD CHANCELLOR put the question, which being agreed to, his Lordship retired from the woolsack, and the chair was taken by the Earl of SHAFTESBURY.

Earl GREY rose and addressed their Lordships. The question of reform, said the noble Earl, that important question having arrived by the sanction of the House at the stage which was now to occupy them, the first motion to be made was for going into committee, to which they had assented; the next was, that the consideration of the title and preamble of the bill be postponed; to which, as matters of course, he anticipated there would be no opposition. He next came to the provisions of the bill, and he would then take the opportunity of announcing his intention to propose an alteration in the first clause. The first clause, according to the general principle of the measure, provided for the disfranchisement of a certain number of boroughs. It set forth, that "each of the 56 boroughs enumerated in schedule A shall, from and after the end of this present Parliament, cease to return any member or members to Parliament." This clause had been introduced into the bill brought before the House of Commons after mature examination. On the introduction of the new bill, for the convenience of the proceedings, they agreed to the number of 56, but deferred the consideration of the schedules till the other clauses should be disposed of. Perhaps objection would be made in that House to an arrangement of this kind. As there were some who objected to their saying in the first instance that the number of 56 boroughs should be disfranchised, in order to obviate this objection, it was his intention when they came to the clause to propose that the words "fifty-six" should be left out, and to propose that each of the boroughs enumerated in schedule A should cease to send members to Parliament, that is, the different boroughs in the schedule as they were to be separately proposed to the House. This appeared to him the best mode of proceeding, being calculated to obviate the objection to the clause as it at present stood. He should therefore adopt it, and would now move, that the title and the preamble of the bill be postponed, that they might come to the consideration of the first clause.

The questions of the postponement of the title and preamble of the bill being severally put and agreed to,

Lord LYNDHURST said, that he would propose that the measure recommended by the noble Earl should be carried farther, and that the consideration of the first clause should be altogether postponed. If he succeeded in obtaining its postponement, it was his intention to follow it up by proposing that the consideration of the clause immediately succeeding be also postponed. He took this course for the purpose of submitting to their Lordships the question why certain places should be allowed the privilege of sending members to Parliament, which he was of opinion ought to be discussed before they entered upon the question of disfranchisement. (Hear.) He begged for a moment to call their Lordships' attention to the position in which they now stood. Their Lordships had decided that the bill should be read a second time, and considered in committee. They had decided for the principle of the bill with reference to inquiry. What could fairly and properly be deemed the principle of the bill was a point that might educe much discussion; but he would frankly admit, having attended minutely to its progress, that he regarded those noble Lords who had voted for the second reading, as intending to establish the three principles of disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and extension of suffrage. This he admitted fully, and would act candidly and uniformly upon the admission. But although noble Lords had divided in favour of the second reading, and had thereby acknowledged these principles, yet he begged to remind them that they were not fettered in the slightest degree as to the extent to which they were to be urged; and they came to deliberate as to the amount of disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and extension of suffrage,

entirely free and untrammeled by their previous vote. Still he must allow that, after all that had passed on this subject in both Houses of Parliament,—looking at the state of the country and the expectations that were abroad, he felt bound to state, after the best consideration of this most important question, that he was not disposed, nor did he believe that those who acted with him on that occasion were disposed, to present to noble Lords such alterations in the measure as, if adopted, would render it ultimately of such a character as ought not to satisfy, not Radicals, but all intelligent reformers in the country, and (without entering more into detail) even the noble Lord himself by whom the bill was brought forward. As to the manner in which the discussion was to be carried on in committee, he was sure that on their side it would be marked by temperance and candour, and he trusted to noble Lords opposite meeting them in the same spirit, and to the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Government, upon whose character and professions he relied. Much had been said in that house and out of that house as to the opponents of the bill being influenced by party feelings and party measures. He would distinctly deny the imputation. Noble Lords certainly had felt it their duty to comment upon other proceedings of his Majesty's Government; but in so doing, he could declare, with entire confidence, that for the last 100 years never had any opposition been conducted with less of the spirit of party than the present. (A laugh from the ministerial benches.) He would repeat, that never had there been less concert, less co-operation, less of the machinery that characterized party, than during the period of that opposition. (Hear, hear, from the opposition.) This was especially the case with respect to the measure before the House. He had opposed it himself, as others had opposed it, upon principle—having felt convinced, after using his best endeavours to inform his mind, that if the bill passed into a law it would have the effect of destroying the balance of the mixed government of England, and the just rights and privileges of their Lordships' House. (Hear.) This was his conviction; and if it were so, what other course was he bound to pursue but that of opposing the bill? Was it possible for him to take any other course? Could he have acted otherwise as a peer of Parliament? Upon principle, and principle alone, had he grounded his opposition to the bill. (Hear.) It was his desire that they should postpone the consideration of the clauses referred to until after they had considered the clauses by which enfranchisement was to be conferred. In stating this wish, he would most anxiously entreat their Lordships not to misapprehend him. What he proposed was simple, and would involve nothing as to a prejudgment of the clauses. To borrow the language of his profession, he desired that the clauses should be postponed "without prejudice;" that in fact they should approach the consideration of them unfettered—unprejudiced—precisely as if they had not been postponed at all. The ground on which he would recommend the postponement of the clause was, that a bill of this description ought essentially to be a measure of enfranchisement. He objected to it because it appeared to him to be a measure of disfranchisement. In his opinion it ought to be a bill of enfranchisement, of which principle disfranchisement should be the consequent. He knew no other ground on which they should be guided in framing a measure of the kind. If it were for the benefit of the state that a number of large and populous towns should be enfranchised, disfranchisement might be required on account of the inconvenience resulting from too great a body of members in the other House of Parliament. On this point he would express no opinion, but he would repeat that disfranchisement should be consequent on enfranchisement; he would not say to the letter, but it should be so generally, and if a particular case arose, let it be judged by its particular merits. As to disfranchising a certain number of places, the proper mode of proceeding was to begin by establishing the necessity of the occasion, and by learning previously what places were to be enfranchised. The proposition of the noble Earl (Grey) met his objection in part, but not altogether; for by coming to the consideration of the first clause they would allow disfranchisement to precede enfranchisement. If the noble Lord would not only leave out the words "fifty-six," but would abstain from incorporating schedule A in the clause, then his (Lord Lyndhurst's) amendment would not be necessary, (Earl Grey expressed signs of dissent,) nor would he feel called upon to press his motion. The course he recommended appeared to him the worthier of their adoption, as it was the more gracious to begin with an act of favour, or, if they would, of justice. Now disfranchisement began by depriving persons of a right. The very preamble of the bill admitted that it was a right, and before touching upon it he conceived that they ought to establish enfranchisement as the foundation and justification of the proceeding. The authority of one of the most eminent Whig lawyers—Chief Justice Holt—warranted the view he had taken. There were other considerations which pressed strongly on his mind. If they pursued this course, they would disfranchise as a matter of necessity; but if they opposed this course, on what principle would they disfranchise? They would proceed upon the assumption that the boroughs were nuisances and stains upon the constitution. (Cheers from the ministerial benches.) He would ask their Lordships if it were advisable for them to pursue the latter course? ("Hear," from the opposition.) Would not any man pretending to be a statesman prefer the healing plan? It had been proclaimed at public meetings,—it had been [illegible] zoned on the corners of the streets'—that

House of Commons was but "a borough-mongering Parliament; and what right had it to make laws for the people?—what right had it to call on them and their children to pay a debt which, but for Parliamentary corruption, would never have been incurred?" Was this a visionary statement? A noble Baron opposite had presented a petition from the National Political Union, and this was the language of the gentleman who had moved the first resolution. "Let us get a reformed Parliament—the delegates of the people—he thanked the noble Duke for the term (hear); and they should soon get delegates that would do good to themselves." After touching upon the church, he proceeded to say, "as to that pretty affair, the 800,000,000*l.* of debt,—who borrowed the money? The English borough-mongers? (Ministerial cheers.) And for what? To put down reform at home and revolution abroad. Had they the right to saddle them and their children with the payment of this debt? He denied it in toto." The orator was not disposed to be unmerciful to the fundholders; he thought they ought to be paid "as far as public property could pay them; as to the rest, some composition must be made. That would be the work of a reformed Parliament,—the thing was irrisistible, and a reformed Parliament would effect it." Such was an example—a common example—of the doctrines that were every day promulgated, and he would caution their Lordships against giving them the sanction of that House. Without entering upon other topics that presented themselves to his mind, he would proceed to point out to their Lordships the course taken on the subject of reform by those who had made that question the subject of long and deep consideration, from Lord Chatham down to the present time, and when he stated the several plans which they had proposed, it would be seen that enfranchisement was the end they had in view, and disfranchisement the means. He would begin with Lord Chatham. Seventy years ago, that noble Lord proposed his plan, of which disfranchisement formed no part. His plan was, that 100 members should be added to the representation, of which a part should be sent from the counties, and the others selected by the large towns. The next was Mr. Pitt's first plan, which, like that of his father, was, that an addition of 100 members should be made to the representation in the House of Commons. In this there was nothing of direct disfranchisement. He spoke of the plan of 1783. The disfranchisement was contingent, and made an exception to the general principle of the bill; for it was, except that it should be proved that at any time any borough should forfeit its right to return members, and that, in that case, the franchise should be thrown into the general mass. Mr. Pitt's next plan in 1785 was, that seventy-two new members should be added to the representation, and that afterwards a sum of money should be raised for the purchase of thirty-six boroughs; but this part was to be a subsequent measure, and was not to be resorted to until they should have tried the effect of the first part of the plan, and seen how the addition of the seventy-two new members should operate. In the purchase of the boroughs it was intended to give representatives to Birmingham and Sheffield. In the plan introduced by Mr. Flood, it was proposed to add two members to the House of Commons; but in this plan there was no mention of disfranchisement. He next came to the plan proposed by the noble Earl (Grey) opposite, the main feature of which was the great increase of the members returned by counties. On the general merits of that plan it was not necessary for him to make any observation, nor was he disposed to do so after what had been observed with respect to it by the noble Earl himself—that much of it was to be ascribed to the heat and inexperience of youth. This brought him to the plan introduced some years ago by the noble lord (John Russell), who was the ostensible mover of the bill now on their Lordships' table, as well as of that which had preceded it in a former session. The plan introduced by the noble Lord was in the shape of four resolutions, the second of which declared it expedient to give representatives to the large towns then unrepresented; but the third resolution recommended the appointment of a committee to consider how that enfranchisement might be best effected without any inconvenient addition to the number of members in the House of Commons. It was not, he (Lord Lyndhurst) thought, too much for him to infer from this proposition, that the noble Lord looked upon enfranchisement as the principle and end of his plan, and that he considered disfranchisement as the means. He did not mean to impute any inconsistency to the noble Lord, for whom he had a very high respect, but he could not avoid noticing the language of the noble Lord on that occasion. His words were, "Let us first agree as to what towns shall be enfranchised, and then we shall see what is to be the extent of disfranchisement—what alterations it may be necessary to propose." But this hostility to disfranchise, or the principle of regarding it only as a means, not an end or object of reform, was not confined to the noble Lord whose name he had mentioned. He thought, that in the speeches, as well as the writings, of his noble and learned Friend (the Lord Chancellor), the same principle was adhered to. His noble and learned Friend had, he conceived, given sufficient evidence that he also looked upon enfranchisement as the great end of reform, and that, if he regarded disfranchisement at all, it was to be only as a means. In a celebrated letter which his noble and learned Friend had written, he had made use of these words,—"Above all things, let us have no disfranchisement." He did not mean to charge his noble and learned Friend with inconsistency in this respect, but he was anxious

to quote him as a very high authority for the course which he (Lord Lyndhurst) pointed out; and allow him to say, that he considered that course more in accordance with the spirit of the constitution. If that practice now prevailed which once existed, and which was certainly founded upon the then admitted prerogative of the Crown—of sending writs to places which had grown into importance, authorising them to return members, and this prerogative remained down to the time of King Charles II., who, as was well known, had sent a writ to the town of Newark—if, he repeated, that prerogative still existed in the Crown, there could be no difficulty in adjusting the principle of enfranchisement. But that prerogative no longer existed, and allow him to say, that at no time was the power of disfranchisement recognised by law as belonging to the monarch. He knew it had been held that the Crown had the power of withholding writs from places which had gone to decay, but this power had been most formally disavowed, first by a committee of the House of Commons, afterwards by the decision of the judges of the land, and eventually by Parliament itself. In the reign of James I, four boroughs complained to the House that *precipes* had not been sent to them to return members as usual in the case of a new election. The House appointed a committee to inquire into the matter, and the committee decided that the *precipe* could not legally be refused to them. The matter was afterwards referred to the Chief Justices of the Courts, and the decision of the commit ee was confirmed, and it was, as he had said, subsequently confirmed by Parliament itself, and the *precipes* were issued. The towns of Winchester and Pomfret were instances of the same kind, in the same reign. He (Lord Lyndhurst) must contend, then, that the power of the Crown not extending now to the issuing or withholding of writs from places which sent members to Parliament being admitted, and that the plans of all the great reformers, from the time of Lord Chatham to the present day, having been, as he had shown, on the principle of enfranchisement as an end, and disfranchisement as a means, he was acting in accordance with the spirit of the constitution, and in conformity with even the practice of modern reformers, in proposing that their Lordships should first consider the question of how far they were disposed to carry the enfranchising principle before they took into consideration the question of disfranchisement. Having stated the arguments which occurred to him on this point, he could assure their Lordships that in taking this course he did not mean to prejudice the question of disfranchisement, for their Lordships could afterwards measure the extent of disfranchisement by the extent to which they should feel disposed to carry the principle of enfranchisement. He would now therefore move that the first and second clauses of the bill be postponed. The question having been put from the chair,—

The LORD CHANCELLOR said he was sure that his noble and learned Friend could not have distinctly heard what fell from his noble Friend (Earl Grey) near him, from the construction he had put upon his observations as to the course he proposed with respect to the first clause. His noble Friend proposed as a course which was likely to be more convenient to their Lordships, that the words "fifty-six" should be omited from the first clause, because, as his noble Friend had observed, it might be not agreeable to many of their Lordships to be tied down in the first instance to the disfranchisement of so many boroughs, but his noble Friend had never meant or said that it was not his intention to propose the disfranchisement of that number of boroughs. On the contrary, he had most distinctly and emphatically added, that it was his intention to propose the disfranchisement of those boroughs—that was, that each of them should *seriatim* be proposed to be inserted in schedule A. He was anxious to set his noble and learned Friend right on this point, lest, by possibility, it could be supposed that his noble Friend near him, or he (Lord Brougham), or any of his noble colleagues, could by any possibility think of going back one atom from what they considered the essential principles of the bill. (Cheers from the ministerial side.) The course which his noble Friend proposed was for the sake of the convenience of their Lordships, for he admitted that there would be an inconvenience attending the clause if it were proposed at once that fifty-six boroughs should be disfranchised. Therefore it was that his noble Friend proposed to omit those words from the clause, but with the certain intention of proposing each one of the fifty-six boroughs to be inserted in it as they went on. He was fully disposed to give his noble and learned Friend credit for the disclaimer he had made of want of candour, or of the existence of any factious party spirit in the proposition he now made; but if he were to judge of him by the party with whom he was acting, and to whose party his noble and learned Friend had most marvellously, as it appeared to him, assigned the absence of all factious or party motives—if he were to weigh all that they had lately done with respect to this bill, and to the Government by which it was introduced, he should not be disposed to give him that credit for candour and fairness which he then most unfeignedly did. He was unwilling to go back to all the proceedings of that party; but without going farther back than that most unfactious and most candid course which that party took on the occasion of the system of education lately adopted in Ireland, he must say, that when he recollected the various cases and degrees of party who were united on that question, for the purpose of showing, no doubt, their very good will to Government—when he recollected the strange union which was then made to assert a principle different from that on which Government acted,—they might be

right—they might have considered that they were wrong. But when he recollected the union formed on that occasion, of men who could not agree on any one point, but that in the plan they were pursuing, they were opposed to the Government—when he recollected these circumstances, he must own that if he were to measure his noble and learned Friend's candour by that of those with whom he acted, he should not be disposed to give him as much credit for that quality as he should willingly do if he were to consider him in his individual character and distinct from party association. (Hear, hear.) Considering then this motion—considering by whom it was proposed, and by whom it was likely to be supported, he could look upon it in no other light, than as a negative of the most important part of the bill. (Cheers from the ministerial side, and cries of "No, no," from the opposition.) If his noble and learned Friend, instead of wrapping himself in generalities, would only say that there was any important part of the bill with which he would agree—if he would even now say that he did not object to the principle of schedules A and B, but that he would rather that schedules C and D should be taken first—then he could understand the ground of his objection, and might be disposed to accede to it, (though he should still think that the taking the clauses in their order in the bill would be the more desirable course). If even his noble and learned Friend would point out that there was something for which they ought to wait before they proceeded to the discussion of that clause, some information which they had not yet obtained, but which might be forthcoming at a later period of the discussion, he should not think his motion unreasonable; but when his noble and learned Friend left them in the dark as to all that, and as to his own intentions and those of the party with which he acted, with respect to those clauses, at a future period, he must think that the proposition was made only to get rid of the clause altogether, and therefore it should have his most decided opposition. (Hear, hear.) His noble and learned Friend had, in order to induce their Lordships to agree with him in this motion, taken rather a strange course, if his object were only the mere postponement and not total defeat of the clause. He had alluded to opinions which were expressed elsewhere, and his noble and learned Friend had read and commented upon a speech delivered at a public meeting somewhere in the north. He did not think it worth while to follow his noble and learned Friend into any examination of that speech, for he did not think it fair to pick out words from a speech at a public meeting out of doors, indeed he should think it hardly fair to do so to a speech delivered in any place, he would not except even the two highest and most important scenes of public discussion, the two Houses of Parliament. If he were disposed to make selections for the sake of comment on the speeches delivered in either of those Houses, or in the acts of the Houses themselves, he should be at no loss to find abundant subjects for remark, and that, too, not in the way of any cordial approbation. For instance, he had heard in one House of Parliament of a proposition made—aye, and carried too—and carried by a large majority, a majority of which, as expressing the sense of the then representatives of the people, he was bound to speak with all due respect; but he had heard of a proposition moved by that house, and carried by that majority, which in gross absurdity was not exceeded by any of the wildest or most extravagant which he had ever heard made out of doors—a proposition not only against the abundant evidence of the experience of that day, but against common arithmetic. That proposition was, that a one-pound note and a shilling were equivalent to, in real value, a guinea in gold, (cheers from the ministerial side),—a proposition which seemed to have been made almost for no other purpose but that of making the assertion of the contrary a misdemeanour, and made at the very moment that persons who knew well the relative value of the pound note and the guinea in gold, were giving 28*s.* of paper currency for that guinea. (Hear, hear, from the ministerial side.) He mentioned this only to show the danger of picking out passages from the proceedings of public bodies as proofs of general principles or general feeling. His noble and learned Friend had cited several plans of reform, to show that the object of all was enfranchisement, and that disfranchisement was means by which it was to be achieved; but he had passed over one great measure of reform, in which there was all disfranchisement and no enfranchisement—he meant the union of Great Britain and Ireland. In that great measure 200 out of 300 members were lopped off at once, without any corresponding enfranchisement. Was there nothing in that precedent which should induce his noble and learned Friend to pass it over without notice? But his noble and learned Friend had availed himself of the opinions expressed by individuals, and, amongst others, had quoted one which he (the Lord Chancellor) had given,—"That by all means there should be no disfranchisement." Did his noble and learned Friend think that the change which twenty-two eventful years had brought about was as nothing? He (the Lord Chancellor) could remember that in the period of twenty-two weeks a change had been wrought so great as was considered sufficient to induce many of their Lordships to alter an opinion on a great question of internal policy which they had within that time negatived by a large majority; and not only had this change taken place, but it was proposed by the very parties who had been most active in opposing the same question; yet the short space of two-and-twenty weeks had teemed with events sufficient to induce noble Lords to think that they were not only justified but bound to vote against their former decision. (Hear, hear).

Did he say this by way of disparagement to those who had taken that course, or in whose opinions that change had been effected? By no means. Did he mean it as any objection to the votes which his noble and learned Friend had given on that occasion? Not at all: he was rather disposed to quote his noble and learned Friend as a high authority for such a change, as his noble and learned Friend had been pleased to quote him. His noble and learned Friend had said, that statesmen ought to act according to the circumstances of the times; but to follow up his remark, and to show that there was any inconsistency in the course which he (the Lord Chancellor) had adopted, he should prove that nothing had occurred in the course of twenty-two eventful years which could justify that change. He contended that the change which had taken place in the times fully justified the departure, as far as it was in this bill, from the principle of previous measures of reform. The principle of the bill recognised the taking the franchise from inconsiderable places,—that was the foundation; then came the addition of members of towns not represented before, and then the addition to the representation of counties; but the leading principle on which the whole was founded was the taking away the representation from places which, in the lapse of time, had become obscure and decayed, and which had also from the same causes become corrupt or fallen into the hands of individuals. His noble and learned Friend had said that it could be of no importance whether the disfranchisement should be last, for that when they knew what they had to enfranchise, they should then know the extent of disfranchisement. This led him (the Lord Chancellor) to repeat what he had said, that the thing sought by the motion was the destruction of the clause altogether, and he was the more confirmed in this opinion when he saw who were those by whom this motion was likely to be supported. He had no doubt that his noble and learned Friend expected that all those who objected to the fundamental principle of the bill would join with him,—not merely those who would give a little here and take a little there, but who would rather not be called upon to give anything whatever. He did not mean to say that his noble and learned Friend had so framed and intended his motion, but it required not the great acuteness and quick perception of his noble and learned Friend to see that such a motion would have the effect of drawing together all those who felt any hostility to the measure. He (the Lord Chancellor) therefore could not consent to a motion which would put the leading, the most important part of the bill in risk and danger. But let him ask, from whom did this motion come?—from one who was disposed to admit the principle of the measure, or any important part of it, and to see how the rest might be remodelled in the committee? No; his noble and learned Friend had frankly and candidly declared that he was wholly opposed to the bill, as one which would destroy the balance of the constitution; that, therefore, he could enter into no consideration of the detail, for he would oppose the whole. He would, he admitted now, be disposed to see how far the principle of enfranchisement would go; and were they, he (the Lord Chancellor) would ask, were those who were favourable to the principles as well as to the detail of the bill, to wait and hazard the safety of that principle until they saw to what degree of enfranchisement the noble and learned Lord and his friends would go, that they might then ascertain how far they should be permitted to carry the principle of disfranchisement? For his part he confessed that in the prospect which his noble and learned Friend held out, his hopes of gaining anything to the bill by his acceding to his motion were very weak indeed. (Hear.) The attack, for attack it was, was made on that part of the bill which he most valued, and which those opposed to all reform most dreaded, for the great hatred was directed against schedule A; and if that should be put in jeopardy, or defeated, he could easily guess how it would fare with schedule B and the rest. (Hear, hear.) But if, as his noble and learned Friend intimated, the schedule A could be considered after the other parts of the bill, and if there was to be no objection to it, why might it not as well be agreed to in the first instance? The other plans of reform to which his noble and learned Friend had alluded had been brought in, it should be remembered for the first time, and proposed in unreforming Houses of Parliament; but the plan now before the House was brought into a House of Parliament disposed to admit the principle of reform, and that this bill had twice received the sanction by a large majority of one House of Parliament. Under these circumstances, and feeling that his noble and learned Friend had made no case for the necessity or expediency of the course he had proposed, he should feel it his duty to give his direct and decided opposition. (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of HARROWBY rose with one or two other lords, but the cry for the noble Earl being very general, the other noble lords gave way. The noble Earl began by observing, that he should not have felt disposed to rise thus early in the discussion if the noble and learned Lord who last addressed the House, and whose authority was always of great weight, had not omitted anything like argument in support of his opposition to the motion of his noble and learned Friend. He should give his support to his noble and learned Friend's motion for postponing the consideration of schedule A; but in doing so, let it not for a moment be understood that he was one of those to whom the noble and learned Lord opposite had referred, who meant by this postponement to object to the disfranchising clause even to its full extent—if, after considering the enfranchising clauses, their Lordships should be of opinion that it should stand in the bill. He would repeat here what

he said on a former occasion, that not abandoning his opinion of the utility of preserving many of those boroughs which it was now proposed to disfranchise, still he did not think that considering the feelings of the public on the subject, which it was absolutely necessary should not be overlooked, it was expedient that those feelings should be consulted, and that the principle of disfranchisement should be carried to the same extent, for he admitted that if they were to have enfranchisement to a great extent, they must have disfranchisement in a corresponding proportion. He was glad to hear in the outset of the noble Earl's observations, that the words "fifty-six" were to be omitted from the clause—for the retaining of which he saw no earthly reason but that they were placed there; but the noble Earl, though he proposed to omit the words "fifty-six," meant to move that each of the boroughs composing that fifty-six should be proposed *seriatim*. Now he would ask whether this was not the same in effect? Would not the more safe course be to adopt that proposed by his noble and learned Friend; for if they went on from borough to borough in the first clause, they would not know where to stop. They would have in that case nothing to guide them with certainty as to whether they should disfranchise fifty-six, or forty-six, or sixty; but if they began with enfranchisement, then they would have something to guide them. He was ready to enter upon the question of disfranchisement if, having considered of the other parts of the bill, he should think it necessary; but first he should like to see his way, and to ascertain how far that principle might be necessary. It was not the difference of one or two towns; it was not the difference of whether this place was enfranchised before that was disfranchised. That might not be the most important consideration, but it was an important consideration to see generally how far the principle of enfranchisement was necessary, and then it could be more easily ascertained how far they ought to carry the principle of disfranchisement. The objection of the noble and learned Lord opposite that this motion would receive the sanction of all who were hostile to the principle of the bill could not apply to him (the Earl of Harrowby), who, like the noble and learned Lord himself, had done his best to persuade the House to assent to the second reading, thereby adopting its principle, and he was sure it was as little applicable to many other noble Lords who would support the motion of his noble and learned Friend, and not from a wish to defeat the bill, but because they considered the course pointed out as the most reasonable and the most convenient. He repeated that he was disposed to go any reasonable lengths which would give a chance of tranquillizing the country and placing a good Government on a firm basis; but in going this length, he thought that the more safe, reasonable, and prudent course, would be to consider first that part of the bill which was matter of grace and favour, to see which were the towns whose wealth and rank entitled them to representation, and then to go to the counties, and which were those which required additional members, and next to consider the means of giving to all a respectable constituency, and then they might with great propriety consider how far they might carry the principle of disfranchisement. The noble Earl, in conclusion, expressed his great satisfaction, and congratulated the House on the fact, that the discussions on this important subject had hitherto been free from heat and passion; that there had been no mixing up of private interests, but that the whole subject had been fairly considered as one which affected the general interests of the country.

Lord BEXLEY next addressed the House, but in a tone so low, as to be very indistinctly heard below the bar. We understood the noble Lord, in reference to what had fallen from the noble and learned Lord (the Lord Chancellor) on the subject of the resolution of the House of Commons declaring the one-pound note and the shilling to be equivalent to a guinea, to contend that the course taken by the House on that occasion was justifiable, and in accordance with the verdict of a jury of twelve men on their oaths on the same subject. With respect to the motion before the House, he had two reasons for supporting it. It should be recollected that one of the great grievances complained of was the want of enfranchisement, and that the enfranchisement of the large towns was sought for. And when that was done, the next point to be considered would be how it could be done with the least possible infringement of private rights. The second reason which induced him to support the amendment of his noble and learned Friend was, a desire that their Lordships should not carry the remedy beyond the extent of the grievance complained of. And thus their Lordships would arrive at the question, whether any disfranchisement at all was necessary (loud cries of "Hear," intermingled with laughter from the ministerial benches); for it was his opinion, that by a proper adjustment and classification of boroughs, disfranchisement might be avoided altogether. (Cheers from the opposition.) Wishing that some means might be discovered whereby an adjustment of the enfranchisement and the classification of boroughs, satisfactory to all parties, might be effected, he should certainly give his support to the amendment moved by his noble and learned Friend.

The Earl of RADNOR looked upon the question which had been raised by the noble and learned Lord opposite as a question of very serious importance. The noble Earl, who had spoken last but one, and wished to prove that it was a question of no consequence whether the words "fifty-six" were left in the clause, or whether the names of the boroughs to be inserted in schedule A were voted separately, as his noble friend near him (Earl Grey) had proposed. Now it appeared

to him to be a matter of great consequence which course was adopted, and he would shortly tell their Lordships why. Those persons who advised the postponement of this clause were the enemies to disfranchisement altogether. (A faint cry of "No.") He said, yes. The noble and learned Lord who proposed the amendment, had frankly avowed his enmity to the bill, and though he had stated that he should act in the committee with the utmost fairness by the bill, he (the Earl of Radnor) could not help feeling that the noble and learned Lord's wish to reject the bill in toto, might bias his judgment in considering its clauses. The noble Earl who had spoken second on this question, had avowed himself a friend to the system of nomination boroughs. He had even told their Lordships that evening, that he did not give up one iota of the opinions which he had formerly entertained respecting their utility and advantage; and the noble Baron who had just sat down had declared it to be his opinion that if this amendment were carried, disfranchisement might be done away with altogegether. The postponement, then, of this clause meant nothing else than the throwing out the clause for the disfranchisement of what some writers had not hesitated to call the shameful parts of the constitution. (Hear, hear.) He looked upon that clause as the most important clause in the bill. Some noble Lords were of a different opinion, and maintained that the 10*l.* qualification clause was that which the people were most desirous of seeing part and parcel of the bill. He believed quite the reverse. He admitted that there had been more talk lately about the 10*l.* clause than about the disfranchisement clause; but the reason was obvious,—it was generally supposed that the nomination boroughs would be given up without a word by all parties. (Hear.) What was it, he would ask, which more than anything else had reconciled the country to this Reform Bill? The extent to which it carried the disfranchisement of the nomination boroughs. When the people first received the bill with that enthusiasm of which no man now ventured to dispute the existence, it was not because they had considered the mode of enfranchisement which it proposed, but because they discovered that it made a great disfranchisement. He therefore concluded that the disfranchisement clause was the main clause of the bill, and one which most interested the popular will of the country. Considering the quarter from which the proposition for postponement came, he could not look upon it as anything else than a mode of getting rid, by a side wind, of disfranchisement altogether. The noble Earl said that there was no essential difference between the proposition of his noble and learned Friend, and the amendment upon it proposed by the noble and learned Lord opposite. He would call the attention of their Lordships to the point in which the difference between them was to be found. If you lay down in the first instance that 56 boroughs are to be disfranchised, you must then look out for the different boroughs which are to form part of those 56; but if you leave out the words fifty-six, you are at liberty to look out for nomination boroughs, and if you find 56 boroughs or even more deserving disfranchisement, you can put them at once into schedule A. The difference between two propositions was thus nothing more than the mere difference between cause and effect. (Hear.) With respect to the necessity of disfranchising these nomination boroughs, he had recently had an opportunity of informing himself of the opinions which the people of England had entertained upon that subject. He had recently been in Lancashire, and in travelling along the rail-road between Liverpool and Manchester, he had passed close by the decayed and insignificant borough of Newton. He had been told that it was impossible to form a conception of the effect which the existence of that borough of Newton so close to the rail-road had produced upon the minds of those who had travelled along it from the opulent and populous town of Liverpool, which was partially represented, to the still more opulent and populous town of Manchester, which was totally unrepresented. (Cheers.) The feeling as to the necessity of disfranchising such wretched and contemptible places as Newton was gaining strength daily amid the hardy and intelligent people of the north; and if they had talked lately more of the 10*l.* qualification clause than they had of the disfranchisement clause, it was, he repeated, because they supposed it was agreed on all hands that an extensive disfranchisement should take place. (Hear, hear.) If their Lordships were disposed to make this bill available to any good purpose, they must put a negative on the amendment proposed by the noble and learned Lord.

The Duke of WELLINGTON.—The noble Earl who had spoken last, and the noble and learned Lord who preceded him, had founded their speeches against the proposition of his noble and learned Friend entirely on the notion that it was made by an avowed enemy of the bill, and that it was intended for nothing else but party purposes. He would not follow either of those noble Lords into an inquiry into the conduct of those distinguished personages with whom he had had the honour of acting on the memorable occasion to which they had both alluded, nor into an inquiry into their conduct during the last and the present session. Neither would he stop to compare it with the conduct pursued by the noble and learned Lord in another place, nor with the conduct pursued by other noble Lords in respect to all party measures. But this he would say, that if ever there were men who had found it necessary to differ from the policy of his Majesty's Government, and who had cautiously abstained from acting upon party motives,—and he had himself received credit from the noble and learned Lord for

having given support to his Majesty's Government when he thought it deserved support,—if ever there was an occasion on which men ought to have been exempt upon such an insinuation as was conveyed in the speech of the noble and learned Lord, the present was that occasion, and he and those with whom he had acted during the two last sessions of Parliament, were the men who ought not to have been exposed to such an unfounded and unworthy imputation. (Hear, hear.) It had been said, however, that this amendment is brought forward merely because we are enemies to the bill. He avowed his enmity to the bill—he was convinced that, do what their Lordships might with it, it would never be anything but an evil to the country. (Loud cries of "Hear.") His opinion was, that when they should have amended this bill as far as it was capable of amendment, they would find a crisis hanging over the country which this bill would have occasioned, and which it would not leave the Government with the means of averting. (Cheers from the opposition.) But when once the bill had passed the second reading, and a majority of their Lordships had decided that its principles were fit to be acceded to, and that its details should be considered in a committee, he felt it to be his duty, as a peer of Parliament, to come down to the House and to consider the principles of the bill, and to make it a measure, so far as it was capable of being made a measure, fit for the House to pass and for the Government to carry into execution. He could not help observing with some surprise, that neither the noble and learned Lord nor the noble Earl who had followed him, had said one word in answer to the speech of his noble and learned Friend, who had shown that, according to all precedent, according to all analogy of law, and according to all the acknowledged maxims of the constitution, the first principle which ought to be considered in this bill, was the principle of enfranchisement, and that the second was, whether disfranchisement ought or ought not to follow it. To the argument of his noble and learned Friend, the noble and learned Lord opposite, who was a great lawyer, and capable of giving an answer to any argument which could be answered ("Hear, hear," from the opposition), had not said a single word. He had left the argument as it stood, and that was a decisive proof that the argument was unanswerable. It was not with any dirty view of defeating the bill by a side-wind (cheers from the ministerial benches) that he supported this amendment. The question for their Lordships to consider was, whether they would first vote one clause, by which, one after another, fifty-six boroughs were to be disfranchised, and then another by which thirty more were to be partially disfranchised, without knowing what the extent of enfranchisement was to be, and without having decided whether they would go to the full length of the bill itself. And why was all this to be done? Because certain persons in the country thought proper to call those boroughs rotten nomination boroughs. Now, whilst they were talking of rotten nomination boroughs, he wanted to know whether no such boroughs would remain after this bill was carried? It was well known that there would. He thought that at a future stage of the bill he should be able to prove at their Lordships' bar that a nomination borough was even created by it. (Cheers from the opposition.) In conclusion, he stated, that though he was a decided enemy to the bill, he shou d proceed in the committee by fair means to make it as perfect as its many extraordinary provisions would allow.

Lord HOLLAND and the Duke of NEWCASTLE rose together, but on the Duke of Newcastle's withdrawing,

Lord HOLLAND proceeded to address their Lordships to the following effect:—He was very anxious, he said, to endeavour to assign a few of the many reasons which induced him to give his vote against the amendment which had been so ingeniously put forward by the noble and learned Lord opposite. He felt a strong desire to address their Lordships on the present occasion, though he confessed that, from personal reasons with which it was immaterial to trouble their Lordships, but of which personal indi-position was one, he was not sure that he should be able to go through the task which he had voluntarily imposed upon himself. He was anxious, he repeated, to address their Lordships from the perfect persuasion that the amendment proposed by the noble and learned Lord was one which, if unfortunately it should be adopted by a majority of their Lordships, would entirely do away with the great good which they had recently effected by giving their assent to the second reading of this bill. (Hear.) Of this point he was thoroughly persuaded, that the amendment of the noble and learned Lord was inconsistent with the past decision of their Lordships. (Hear, hear, and cries of "No," from the opposition.) He did not say this unadvisedly and though they might not be satisfactory to their Lordships, he would state the reasons, such as they were, which had induced him to come to that conclusion. He thought, then, that this amendment was inconsistent with the recent decision of their Lordships,—that it was irreconcilable with all reasonable and constitutional principle,—and that it was fraught with the greatest evils, as it was calculated to disappoint the expectations of the Commons of England, taking that term either in its confined sense of the House of Commons, or in the more enlarged and liberal sense of the constitution,—namely, that of the people of England. (Cheering from the ministerial benches.) He repeated that this amendment was inconsistent with the decision to which their Lordships had recently come, and for the reasons which he would now briefly state to them. He imputed motives to no one: he did not say that the intention of the noble Duke in supporting this amendment, or that the intention of the noble and learned Lord in

proposing it, was to act directly against what they considered to be the principle of the bill; but in his view of this matter, the postponement of the consideration of the disfranchisement clause would be tantamount to a vote against the principles of the bill. But when their Lordships were talking of the principles of the bill, prudential motives should lead them to consider not what they themselves considered to be the principles of the bill, but what the framers of the bill considered them to be, and still more what the House of Commons considered them to be. (Hear, hear.) Now what were those principles? The principle to which the noble and learned Lord had principally directed his attention was this:—Said the noble and learned Lord, "Let disfranchisement be the consequence of enfranchisement, and then you will act constitutionally, and according to precedents." Comical precedents indeed they would be which had always been rejected, and yet none but such precedents could the noble and learned Lord quote. "But," continued the noble and learned Lord, "if you act thus, you would be acting reasonably;" and then he held out to the House a distant hope that he would agree with it in voting for the principle of the bill. He (Lord Holland) would contend that the precedence of disfranchisement to enfranchisement was one of the principles of the bill,—nay more, that it was that very principle which had rendered the bill so palatable to the people, and had made it effectual for two great and magnificent objects which the bill contemplated. One of them was of a temporary character, and yet of great urgency and importance, for it was nothing less than the reconciliation of the people to the ancient and noble institutions of their country. (Cheers.) The other was the revision, correction, and improvement, of the ancient principle and practice of the constitution, by rendering it the true conservative principle of the country, which it had always been supposed to be by the collected wisdom of many individuals who were then no more. (Hear, hear.) He was not bound to look merely at the words in which this motion was couched, —he was also bound to look at its tendency. He was sure that the noble Duke had no dirty views on this question; but when men had strong opinions on any subject in their minds, it was impossible for them to look upon that subject with the same feelings which actuated those who adopted contrary opinions regarding it. The noble Duke, and those noble Lords who acted with him, said that they were now ready to give effect to a principle of which they had previously expressed their detestation. Now he would ask the noble and learned Baron opposite, whether, as a lawyer, he would advise him to consult a person how to do a thing, when he was aware that that person hated the thing which he asked him to do. (Hear, hear) He meant to impute no unworthy motives to a person in such a situation, but this he would say, that it would be impossible for a person so circumstanced to exercise a calm and unbiassed judgment. (Hear, hear.) The three principles of this bill were, as their Lordships all knew, disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and extension of the suffrage. He believed that to correct and pacify the present uneasy state of the public mind the first of these three principles was the most important of all. (Loud cheering from the ministerial benches.) In saying this he did not mean to disparage the importance of the two other principles, for to every tittle of them both he was a sincere friend, determined that they should suffer no impairment. (Cheers.) Still he could not refrain from telling their Lordships that if they hesitated about passing this clause, which involved the first principle of the bill, they would deteriorate all the good which the bill was calculated to confer upon the people, and would embitter the enjoyment of it to coming generations. But, good God! to hear in that House what he had heard upon this subject had produced upon his mind emotions of surprise to which he should find it impossible to give adequate expression. First of all, he had been told that disfranchisement was such injustice! (Cries of "Hear," from the opposition benches.) Then he had heard, in common with their Lordships, changes perpetually rung upon the great advantages which the country derived from these nomination boroughs! And then, too, he had to listen to the very ingenious argument of the noble and learned Baron opposite, intended to prove the way in which these advantages operated,—an argument founded on the most visionary principles, untenable even in theory, directly opposed to the practice of the constitution, and irreconcilable with the opinions of all the great men who had ever written upon this subject. The noble and learned Lord had spoken with great indignation of proceeding to disfranchisement, unless an abuse of the franchise was proved against those who exercised it, or unless a strong case of necessity was made out in justification of it. Now on that point he would turn the noble and learned Lord over to a measure of his own. The noble and learned Lord had disfranchised, at one fell swoop, ten thousand times as many persons as this bill disfranchised. (Loud cheers from the ministerial benches.) The rights of those individuals to their suffrages rested not only upon Acts of Parliament, but upon the common law of the land, from which indeed we derived all the advantages which at present distinguished us. The noble and learned Lord, and the noble friends by whom he was then surrounded, had disfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders. He (Lord Holland) had reluctantly supported that measure of disfranchisement, because he thought, upon the whole, that it would be attended with more advantage than disadvantage,—in a word, that it would prove the less of two evils. The noble and learned Lord, then, had disfranchised all the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland. The noble

Lords opposite had no occasion to chuckle and rub their hands, and say that that measure was carried because it was intended to diminish Catholic influence. They must not lay that flattering unction to their souls, for the bill disfranchised not only the Catholic, but also the Protestant freeholders—nay, it disfranchised the Protestant freeholders under circumstances in which they possessed claims not only on the justice of the country, but also on the good faith of those who disfranchised them,—it disfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders who had bought their freeholds from the Crown, and who had given an additional value for them, for the purpose of obtaining a vote, within a very short period of the time of their disfranchisement. Yes, in spite of all that the noble and learned Baron had that evening advanced on the score of disfranchisement, his bill disfranchised 400,000 Irish forty-shilling freeholders, without proving delinquency against them, or calling upon any of them for their defence at the bar of that House. (Cheers.) He had never heard the noble Duke opposite speak with more effect, or display more talent, than he did upon that occasion. The noble Duke had a difficult cause to handle, but he handled it with a master's hand. The noble Duke said, —and he (Lord Holland) did not intend to quote the noble Duke's words, he spoke from a recollection of their substance merely, —the noble Duke said, and said very justly, "After all, when we speak of these persons and of the hardship of taking their franchise away from them, we must recollect that they are so circumstanced that they do not exercise their franchise independently,—that they let it depend not on their own will, but on the will of others, in open violation of the principles of the constitution." Apply that language to these boroughs, and ask yourslves whether, if the bogtrotter with his 40s. freehold is to be deprived of his suffrages on account of his independence on his landlord and his priest, it is right for you to say, "We will not take away the franchise from the electors of St. Mawes, because they belong to and are dependent upon a great Lord." (Cheers from the opposition.) Whilst on this subject, he could not refrain from observing that their Lordships had been harshly treated not only by the friends, but also by the enemies of this bill. It had been said that the interests of their Lordships were affected by it. He (Lord Holland) had often asked the question, how were they affected by it? He had asked that question in public,—he had asked it, too, in private. He had got no answer to it in public, but he had sometimes heard an answer to it in private. Now if the answer which he had heard given to it in private had been repeated in either house of Parliament 20 or 30 years ago, when he first came into Parliament, he believed that the man who uttered it would have been called to order, and would have had a good chance of being also sent to the Tower! Good God! Could any man at this time of day be so foolish as to maintain the idea that the rotten boroughs were created for the purpose of enabling some of their Lordships to maintain an interest in the other house of Parliament? Dr. Paley was, he believed, the first writer of distinction who had broached this doctrine, and a doctrine more fallacious in principle, and more injurious in practice, could hardly be devised by the art of man. There was no borough attached either to the title or to the princely possession of any of their Lordships; there was no borough which belonged to that House as a House: it was true that the boroughs had produced an effect upon that house; and perhaps one of the greatest evils of the borough system was, that it had produced a stronger effect upon that House than it had even produced upon the other House of Parliament. To borrow a phrase from one of the many able and eloquent speeches which his noble friend on the woolsack had made on this subject, he would say that "the corruption of the borough was often the generation of the peer." (Cheers.) But did the noble Lords opposite, who expressed such generous and chivalrous sentiments respecting the dignity of that august assembly which he was then addressing—did those noble Lords mean to assert that it was right that the aristocracy should be the gaudy insects generated by the filth and ordure of the rotten boroughs? He was prepared to show, at a fitting season, from the records of history, that the effect which the rotten boroughs had produced in this way upon the House of Lords was far greater than the effect which it had produced in giving members of the House of Lords an influence over the other House of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) He contended that the principles of the bill,—at least what the House of Commons understood by its principles, and what he himself had understood by them when he gave his vote for the second reading of this bill,—he contended that the principles of this bill were disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and the extension of the suffrage; and that one of its subsidiary principles was the order in which its three great principles stood. (Cheers.) Men of honour might say, "You take that view of this bill; but you are calling upon us to do that which we conceive to be unjust, and which we therefore cannot do." Now there was a quarter from which this argument would not come with a very good grace; for he recollected certain circumstances inducing certain men to do that which they considered wrong before it was done, and were not prepared to defend now that it was done. He would, however, admit that the plea which he had just advanced would have been sufficient to justify any noble Lord in not supporting the principle of the bill upon its second reading. But he asked their Lordships whether, after they had sanctioned the view taken of the bill by the House of Commons, by agreeing to the second reading, they deemed that it would be

wise, prudent, or decorous, unless a strong case of necessity were made out, to tamper with that which the House of Commons, and, what was perhaps more material, the people of England, considered as the principle of the bill? (Hear, hear.) He again repeated, that in considering this amendment, he was bound to look at its tendency and effect, rather than at is professions. The noble and learned Lord had told them that he bowed with deference to the decision of the House on the second reading; and yet what course was he now pursuing? The whole of his argument was directed against the principle of disfranchisement. "I will admit," said he, "of disfranchisement as a consequence of enfranchisement, but as a principle, I abjure, abominate, and detest it." But what said the bill which their Lordships had now read a second time? That disfranchisement was the principle of the bill; and that enfranchisement, if it were not a consequence of, was at least subsequent to, disfranchisement. The noble and learned Lord, however, called upon the House to postpone disfranchisement. Postpone disfranchisement! The request was, in sooth, a very modest proposal. A noble Earl, who had taken a part in the discussion, and whose conduct he did not very strongly approve, had said,—"This is a very simple matter, and makes very little difference whether you enfranchise first, and disfranchise afterwards, or *vice versa*." He (Lord Holland) had said enough to prove that he did not think it a very simple matter. Was it a simple matter, he would ask, either in the feelings of the people, or in the effect which it would produce upon them? Did their Lordships think that those who were attached to the bill and looked forward with an earnest and ardent desire to its ultimate success would consider the postponement of the disfranchisement as a trifling matter? He shrewdly suspected that they would not. They would feel that the postponement of that clause proved the existence of a strong feeling of hostility in the House against the principle of the bill. (Cheers from the ministerial benches.) But what said the noble Baron who had risen to speak on the subject of the currency, and of whose speech he had unfortunately heard nothing but a few disjointed fragments? He used as an argument, which was good to those to whom he addressed it,—namely the enemies of the bill,—he used as an argument this extraordinary assertion, "I think that if you postpone this clause, there is great probability that there will be no disfranchisement at all" (hear, hear); and then the noble Baron expressed a hope that some trick might be performed, — some adjustment or classification of boroughs might be devised,—which would do away with disfranchisement altogether. After such a declaration, coming with so much frankness from such a quarter, could he entertain a moment's doubt that the object of those who proposed the postponement of this clause was either to get rid of it entirely, or to maim and mutilate the bill in such a manner as would render it the scorn and not the delight of the people? (Great cheering from the ministerial side.) If such be their intention not even avowed to themselves, — if such be the secret wish of their hearts,—the best mode of accomplishing it is that which they have proposed,—to enfranchise first, and to disfranchise afterwards. The proposal of the noble and learned Lord was neither more nor less than this:—"Postpone your conclusion, and I'll give you any premises you may desire; but then, when I have done that, I'll make your conclusion as trifling and insignificant as possible." He (Lord Holland) acquitted the noble Duke most fully of any dirty views in supporting this amendment: but this he was compelled by a sense of duty to say, that whether it were a dirty way or a clean way, the present was the most effectual way to defeat this bill; and being so, he felt it necessary to give his decided vote against the amendment of the noble and learned Lord. (Cheers.)

The Duke of NEWCASTLE next addressed their Lordships, but we only heard one or two detached sentences of his speech, and have no idea how he applied them. We understood him to say that he opposed this bill, because he considered it revolutionary. As he deemed it pregnant with danger to the best interests of the country, he would not endeavour to amend its clauses, but would rather seek to crush them every one. With regard to nomination boroughs, he would agree to any measure which would bind the patron down, and prevent him from exercising undue influence over the voters. He would go along with any noble lord who should propose a measure to that effect. The noble Duke concluded by saying that he had felt it his duty to state the spirit which would regulate his conduct in the committee.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH said, that although a difference of opinion might prevail with respect to the correctness of the opinions entertained by the noble Duke who had just addressed the House, there was no noble Lord who would not be disposed upon this occasion, as upon all others, to do justice to the candour and manliness with which the noble Duke had avowed his sentiments. (Hear) For his own part, he entertained as much apprehension with respect to the measure,—however it might be altered consistently with its fixed principles,—as much apprehension as the noble Duke did. Nothing which he had heard, nothing which he had read, had produced the least change in the opinion which he originally entertained as to the changes which would necessarily be consequent upon the passing of the bill. At the same time it was impossible for him not to see that the position in which the question stood was most materially altered by the dissolution of Parliament, which was acquiesced in by his Majesty. He had also on a former occasion, taken the liberty to impress

upon their Lordships' minds, how much more the position of the question would be altered if their Lordships would consent to read the bill a second time. The question was now presented to their Lordships under circumstances different from those in which it had before stood. The principle of the bill had received the sanction, not only of the House of Commons, but of the House of Lords, in the independent exercise of their functions, not having, he thanked God, for the honour of those who were in his Majesty's councils, and for the permanent safety of the constitution, their numbers swelled by persons sent amongst them for the sole purpose of passing this measure. (Hear.) The bill had been read a second time by the sanction of an independent majority of the House, which carried with it greater authority than a majority obtained under other circumstances could possibly have possessed. He felt that he now was in a greater measure controlled by the vote of the House. Their Lordships having decided to read the bill a second time, it became his duty, as a peer of Parliament, to endeavour in committee to render the measure as safe as he could. When the bill should be reported, another question would arise. It would then be his duty to consider whether it would be more safe to pass the bill altered as it would be, than it would be to run the risk of the consequences which would follow from the rejection of the measure. In the committee, however, he should feel himself bound by the decision of the House upon the question of the second reading. He would propose nothing, he would support nothing, inconsistent with the three principles of the bill, namely, disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and the extension of the suffrage. It was impossible that those persons who voted for the second reading should not have foreseen the extent to which the application of those principles might be carried; and of course they would not support any amendment which would have the effect of materially altering the bill from the state in which it stood on the second reading. It was his duty now to endeavour to amend the bill consistently with its three principles, reserving to himself the right of voting against the measure on the bringing up of the report, or on the third reading, if he should consider it safer to reject it than to pass it. The question which had been submitted to the House that evening was one of great importance, not so much with respect to the bill as with respect to the past and the future. To agree to the disfranchising clause in the manner proposed by Ministers was an invasion of private rights, and would form a precedent for an attack upon property of any description. He would never consent to such a course of proceeding. He should regret if, as the noble Baron said, the Commons of England should be disappointed that their Lordships did not proceed exactly in the way which Ministers proposed; but it was his duty not to indulge the people in that which was not reasonable, and would to themselves prove injurious. (Hear.) No man desired more than he did to witness the re-establishment of that confidence and good humour amongst all classes of the people, which the measures of Ministers had for a time destroyed, but he would not consent to effect even that desirable object by establishing a precedent which would shake the foundation of every thing which was valuable in our social system. He therefore supported the principle advanced by his noble and learned Friend, that disfranchisement was contrary to the practice of the constitution, and should only be resorted to in cases where a commanding reason required it. He regretted that the noble Baron opposite did not make the speech with which he had that night favoured the House upon the question of the second reading, for then his arguments might have been answered; but he rejoiced that he did not deliver his speech at the time the question of the disfranchisement of the 40*s.* freeholders of Ireland was under consideration, lest his reasons might have induced the House to reject that measure which he considered necessary as a safeguard, He could assure the House that he and the noble Lords with whom he acted were disposed to deal fairly by the bill, and endeavour to render it a measure under which it would be possible for the Government to be carried on; and for his own part, if the amendment proposed by his noble Friend should be agreed to, he would suggest to the House to proceed immediately to the enfranchising portion of the bill, and he would propose the names of the towns to which he thought that, in respect not only to population and taxation, but also on account of other peculiar circumstances, it would be expedient and right to give representatives. (Hear.)

The Earl of WINCHILSEA said, that he would vote for the amendment proposed by his noble and learned Friend, which was consonant with his own views of the subject. The noble Baron opposite had referred to the disfranchisement of the 40*s.* freeholders of Ireland as a precedent for the disfranchisement proposed by the present bill; but the cases were not parallel, for a reason was assigned for the former disfranchisement, whilst none whatever was offered for the latter. Although he supported the amendment, he wished it to be understood that he was fully prepared to vote for giving representatives to the great and important towns.

Lord WHARNCLIFFE said, that noble Lords opposite argued the question unfairly when they said that those who supported the amendment were desirous of getting rid of disfranchisement. In voting for the amendment he was actuated by no such motive. He objected to proceeding with the disfranchising clause in the first place, because by so doing they would cast a slur on all previous Parliaments. On a former occasion, he said that he would agree to nothing which would affect the principles of the bill. He now repeated that declaration. He was prepared to go the full

length of schedule A with respect to disfranchisement, and he knew that many noble Lords on his side of the House agreed with him upon that point. But he would not disfranchise except upon grounds which would satisfy his conscience and the judgment of the country. He should like to know how their Lordships could tell how many boroughs it was proper to disfranchise, until they knew how many were to be enfranchised. It was possible that an addition might be made to the number of boroughs in schedule A, by inserting in it some of those at present contained in schedule B, or by other means. He could assure the House, that now there existed no desire to defeat the principle of the bill. Now that the measure was in committee, noble Lords on his side of the House were as anxious as noble Lords opposite could be, that disfranchisement should be carried far enough to satisfy the reasonable desires of the people. He entreated Ministers to try whether there did not exist on his side of the House a cordial disposition to meet them cordially. If Ministers would not stand out upon points which, after all, would not have any practical effect upon the good or evil of the bill, they would have it in their power to pass a measure which would give general satisfaction to the country. Under these circumstances he must not be told that the mere proposition to postpone the reading of the first clause, until after the third had been disposed of, was an attempt to defeat the principle of the bill. (Hear.) What principle would it defeat? Would it get rid of disfranchisement? No; nor was it so intended. If a reform of the representation was to be made upon fair principles, enfranchisement ought to precede disfranchisement. For himself, if the question before the House was simply whether the whole of schedule A should be adopted, he would vote for it; and, further, he would state, that he would never consent to any arrangement which would reduce the amount of disfranchisement below that contained in the schedule. (Hear.)

The Earl of HAREWOOD said, that in the first place he would guard himself from the suspicion of acting upon the present occasion from any indirect motives. The bill having passed the second reading, and entered the committee, ought to be dealt with fairly. If the proposition of his noble and learned Friend contained anything of a sinister character, he would not support it. At the same time he could not but lament that his noble and learned Friend had not given the House a little more time to consider what would be the effect of his amendments. He believed that if the noble Lords opposite knew the nature of the amendments which would be proposed if the postponement should be agreed to, much of their objection to the proposition would be removed. An idea seemed to be entertained that the object of the amendment was to defeat schedule A; but he believed that no such intention was entertained, and if it were he would not support the amendment. He believed that the amendments which would be proposed would comprise the whole of schedule A. Under these circumstances, he trusted that noble Lords opposite would not persist in their objection to the amendment.

Earl GREY disclaimed any intention to attribute factious motives to any person, and he trusted that his conduct during the whole of the discussions upon this important question would ensure him credit with the House in making that disclaimer. He spoke not of the intention of the amendment which had been proposed, but of its tendency and effect; and he was bound to say that nothing could have been devised better calculated to defeat the bill than that amendment. (Hear, hear.) He further felt it his duty to state at once to the House, that he should consider the success of the amendment fatal to the bill. (Cheers.) He was pledged to the principles and efficiency of the bill, not only by the assurances which he had given to the House, and the public, but by his deep conscientious and unchanged opinion of the necessity of the measure. The principles to which he was pledged were those of disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and the extension of the qualification. With respect to the two first, he was ready to listen to any suggestions which might be made with the view of preventing injustice in details, but he would not consent to any reduction of the extent of either disfranchisement or enfranchisement. To the third principle he knew the expectations of the people were most anxiously directed,—he meant the qualification. After much consideration and much pains to obtain the best advice, he had satisfied himself—and he believed that when the question came to be examined he should be found to be in the right—that in taking the 10*l.* qualification, he had not taken too low a scale; and that if he were to raise it, he should disfranchise a great number of his Majesty's subjects who had so fair a claim and title to vote for representatives as any persons in the country. (Cheers.) To the principle of the 10*l.* qualification he felt himself decidedly and irrevocably pledged, and he would admit of no alteration respecting it, except such as could be clearly shown to be a security against abuse. He would resist with the most fixed determination any proposition which under the pretence of regulation, would have the effect of raising the qualification. (Cheers.) He had considered it necessary to say thus much, in order to set himself clear with the House and the country. He would now address himself to the question before the House. Like the noble Duke opposite, he was unwilling to enter into a revision and comparison of the conduct of the existing and the late opposition. He thought the noble Duke would at least give him credit for never having engaged in factious opposition to his Government—indeed, he did not remember having opposed it at all. On some occasion he had most cordially, and he thought not ineffectually, supported the noble Duke. However, he did not

wish to enter into any comparison relative to circumstances of that nature; and still less did he desire to impute any party motives to the noble and learned individual who had moved the amendment upon this occasion. If there was one circumstance more than another which could secure the House against the possibility of any such motive having had any influence whatever in the production of the amendment, it was to be found in the character and situation of the noble and learned Lord; because it was not to be believed that a person in his situation—a judge of the land—would put himself forward as the instrument. (Hear.) The amendment was by some persons spoken of as being of little consequence, and relating only to a question of form. He did not consider it in that light. It appeared to him to be a question of the first consequence. If it did not entirely subvert the principle of the bill, it materially affected it, and therefore it was quite impossible that he could accede to it. He could not understand upon what ground it was contended that it was necessary to enfranchise before disfranchising. The noble Duke said that no answer had been given to the noble and learned Lord's proposition,—that according to the analogy of the law, the practice of former times, and the principles of the constitution, that was the course which ought to be pursued. He was at a loss to understand how the noble and learned Lord made out that proposition. A noble Baron said that it was impossible to ascertain what degree of disfranchisement was necessary until it was known how far enfranchisement had been carried. He might reverse the proposition, and say that the amount of enfranchisement could not be ascertained till the extent of disfranchisement was known. (Hear, hear.) A noble Duke, whose candour was at least entitled to respect, had declared himself opposed to all enfranchisement. Another noble Lord had expressed his hope that if the amendment should be carried, disfranchisement might be altogether avoided, by some such means, probably, as a noble Duke had proposed in a plan of reform which he had propounded to the House. If the rotten boroughs were not to be disfranchised on account of the sacredness of private property, upon what ground did the noble Baron (Wharncliffe) support disfranchisement? In his opinion Ministers had pursued the most natural course which could be adopted. The noble and learned Lord said that if the House should proceed immediately with the task of disfranchising, they would justify all the cry which had been raised against nomination boroughs. To be sure they would. He should like to know upon what principle the noble and learned Lord would propose to disfranchise them. Perhaps the noble and learned Lord would propose to place the names of all places in England in a box, and ballot for them, to see which should be disfranchised; and in that case he might select places of the largest population. Noble Lords deceived themselves if they supposed that the present moment was the first in which a stir had been made on account of nomination boroughs. They had been denounced during the last half century by some of the greatest men whom the country had produced,—by men who were least disposed to advance what in an invidious sense was called the democratical spirit. They spoke of nomination boroughs as sores and ulcers eating into the vitals of the constitution, which it was necessary to excise, in order to prevent its total corruption. A noble Baron expressed a hope that Ministers would confide in the disposition of noble Lords on the other side of the House to grant a proper measure of reform to the people. If he had observed any such disposition, no one would have been more ready than himself to have met it in a proper spirit, always recollecting that to the principles of the bill he was irrevocably fixed; but what reason had he to expect that anything approaching to such an arrangement would be made? What evidence was there that night of the disposition to which the noble Lord had alluded? The noble and learned Lord who moved the amendment repeated what he said on the second reading—that the bill was incompatible with the safety of the Government, and destructive of the constitution. Then, he asked, what hope was there that the noble and learned Lord would give his consent to the bill? A noble Baron said, that he would endeavour to amend the bill, reserving to himself the right of voting against it on the report. From what had fallen from the noble and gallant Duke, he understood that he would act much in the same way. Many other noble Lords who had voted for the second reading, at the same time declaring that there was much in the bill which they objected to, now intended to support the amendment. Under these circumstances, could he trust the measure in their hands with the hope that it would be brought to such a consummation as would satisfy either his own conscience or the expectations of the public? With opinions so divergent, or rather so opposite, all arrangement was impossible. A noble Lord said that if any alterations should be proposed which would defeat the principles of the bill, Ministers might reckon upon many allies coming over to them from the opposite ranks. That, however, was a hope on which it was not possible for him to rely consistently with his duty to his King, his country, and himself. (Hear, hear.) He was of opinion that there would be a difficulty amounting to impossibility, under the present motion, to carry the bill to that successful issue which was necessary for the satisfaction of the public; and if it should miscarry, it would be then absolutely necessary that he should consider the course he should be constrained to adopt. (Loud cheers.) He certainly on this, as upon all other occasions, disclaimed any intention of offering any disrespect to the House; but he must concur in what had been said by a noble Friend, that this House, like every house, and more

especially this House, must not disregard public opinion. (Hear.) Noble Lords were wrong if they thought that the anxiety of the public had in any degree relaxed upon this question (hear, hear); the public were as anxious as ever. He did expect that this House would not oppose an insurmountable barrier to the accomplishment of a measure which was absolutely necessary to afford satisfaction to the country. But no such thing appeared; but he must say, from the symptoms he had observed in the debate of this night, there seemed to be an intention to put difficulties in the way of a successful passing of the bill, which, he was afraid, it was not in his power to surmount. (Cheers.) He had stated to their Lordships his objections to the motion of the noble and learned Lord, and having done so, he should say no more than that he should give to that motion his most determined opposition. (Cheers.)

The Earl of CARNARVON said, that anxious as he was that the first night of considering this bill in committee should pass away without any exhibition of feeling, yet it was impossible to hear, unmoved, such a speech as had fallen from the noble Earl, which was sufficiently intelligible, and which amounted to nothing less than a menace. (Cheers.) The noble Earl, as well as the noble and learned Lord (Brougham) who replied to the noble and learned mover of the amendment, had commenced by deprecating anything like personal allusions, and had said that nothing should lead him into such allusions, but that he should pursue a direct line to the question before the House; and the first step which the noble Earl took in this direct line led him to all the lengths of Irish education. When he (Lord Carnarvon) opposed the second reading of the bill, he said that if their Lordships determined it should be sent to a committee, he would go into it fairly and with no wish to harass the measure, but with a wish to render it as safe as it could be made to the Government and palatable to the country. That was the pledge he gave, and he was ready to redeem it. If the noble Earl would adopt the course of going into the question of enfranchisement first, and that of disfranchisement after, he might have the best opportunity of removing many of the difficulties in the bill and of carrying it through. Their Lordships had been told that the taking away some inconsiderable boroughs was the great principle of the bill. He should be glad to know the meaning of this. What were those inconsiderable boroughs? The first bill had a different schedule A, and a different schedule B. (Hear.) Yet the House was to assume that the exact number of boroughs to be disfranchised was fifty-six. (No, no.) "Do what you will with the details," said the noble Lords, "but if you take enfranchisement first, and disfranchisement afterwards, the measure must be fatal." The House was told that any alterations might be made in the details of the plan; but there were three principles, enfranchisement, disfranchisement, and qualification, and those must not be meddled with; for if they were touched, it would be fatal to the bill. Just as if, after a long law suit, any one of their Lordships quarrelled with the attorney's bill, and the attorney should say when his bill was taxed, "You may meddle with the shillings, but do not touch the pounds." If he (Lord Carnarvon) did not sincerely believe that the course proposed would get rid of the blemishes of the bill, he would not adopt the dishonest and unmanly course of voting for the motion of the noble and learned Lord. A noble Friend had said that the difference between enfranchisement and disfranchisement was like that between cause and effect; and who ever heard of an effect before the cause? His noble Friend spoke of the great and magnificent object that would be destroyed if this bill did not pass; and this great and magnificent object was to reconcile the people to their old institutions. He (Lord Carnarvon) had never heard that this plan of reform, great and splendid as it might be, was a revival of old institutions. (Hear.) Although he regretted the situation in which they stood, he thought they should now look the measure fairly in the face. He would get rid of it by no trick; and he must say it was more like a trick of the noble Earl and his colleagues, who might think thereby to slip out of the measure, and get rid of the effects of their own—obstinacy, he might call it, but their own—conduct, and not theirs (the opposition). (Hear.) If the noble Earl allowed the propositions of the noble and learned Lord to be opened, the country would find that those propositions would place the measure on a sure and firm foundation. The plan they (the opposition) proposed was a real reform; their (the Ministers') plan would please only corresponding societies and political unions. If their (the opposition) plan was adopted, there would be a reform without a revolution. (Hear.) A noble Lord (Holland) had asked, was there ever a revolution in a committee? Was there no revolution, he would ask, in the time of Charles I.? Was there no revolution in France in the reign of Louis XVI.? Although he (Lord Carnarvon) had a dislike to the bill, he would go into the committee with a sincere wish to make it such as the country ought to be satisfied with. After the course he had pursued on the second reading, he should not oppose the bill from any principle of cavil; and if, on the third reading, he should think it as fair and good a measure as the country had a right to look for, he should support it. The noble Earl concluded with deprecating party feeling in the consideration of the bill.

Earl MANVERS said, he had listened with the greatest attention, and with feelings of respect, to the observations of the noble Lords who had spoken in favour of the amendment, in the anxious hope that he might find some excuse or satisfaction to his conscience for voting in support of the amendment consist-

ently with the vote he had already given. He had, however, listened in vain; and although he deeply regretted that circumstances should have severed him from those with whom he had politically acted, he conscientiously believed that the essence of the bill was in schedule A. (Cheers.) That schedule A ought to stand unimpaired was his honest and sincere opinion (hear), and therefore, though he might give pain to some friends and connexions, he could not conscientiously give his vote for a motion which he firmly believed would defeat the object he supported. (Hear.)

Lord CLIFFORD began by observing, that this was the first time he had addressed the House. It was not his intention to enter into a discussion of the principle of the bill; he thought it his duty to defer expressing his sentiments on that point until the third reading. He wished merely to observe, with regard to the remark of the noble Baron (Wharncliffe) and other noble Lords on the (opposition) side of the House, that Ministers persisting in their course with respect to the arrangements of the bill, threw the *onus* upon them (the Ministers); that it was impossible to conduct the affairs of any country like this without, in a parliamentary sense, party men. The first duty of a politician was, not to indulge in abstract notions, but to adopt practical measures; and while he believed the noble Earl conducted himself with the utmost liberality, he could not think the noble Earl ought to concede in respect to the arrangements of the bill. It was quite as necessary that the House should support the arrangements as the principle of the bill. The noble Lord was proceeding, but the cry of "Question" became loud.

The committee then divided, when the numbers were—

Contents (for the amendment) .	151
Non-contents	116
Majority against Ministers .	35

On the re-admission of strangers to the House, we found

Earl GREY on his legs, expressing his intention to move that the House do resume, and that the further consideration of the bill be postponed till Thursday.

Lord LYNDHURST said he should move that the next clause (B) be also postponed.

The question having been put,

Lord ELLENBOROUGH observed, that to the motion of the noble and learned Lord he could have no objection: neither, as appeared to him, could the House object to it, after the vote to which their Lordships had just agreed. He had heard with great regret the intention expressed by the noble Earl (Grey) to move the postponement of the further consideration of the measure till Thursday. He could assure the noble Earl that on that (the opposition) side of the house there existed no wish for delay. (Cheers from the opposition.) If that were a charge against any members of their Lordships' house, it must be directed against the noble Earl and his friends: to him it applied, and not to those who sat on the opposition benches. For himself, he very much regretted that the motion which the noble Earl proposed to make went to deprive him (Lord Ellenborough) of an opportunity which he should otherwise have possessed to-morrow, to explain to the House in detail those amendments, which, in conjunction with noble friends who thought and acted with him, it was his intention to have proposed for their Lordships' consideration. He was unable, at that late hour, to go into those details fully and satisfactorily, and the respect which he felt for the House rendered him unwilling to attempt to do briefly and imperfectly that which he was desirous of laying before their Lordships with a clearness and precision commensurate with the importance of the subject. He should merely say, that having, in conjunction with other Peers, given the most serious consideration to the great principles of the bill,—having well considered the claims possessed by the towns included in schedules C and D,—having likewise considered the reasonableness, under existing circumstances, of carrying into effect the changes which these clauses, taken in conjunction with other parts of the bill, would create,—having reflected on the proposal to give additional members to the counties,—and having at the same time very strong objections to schedules B and E, the result of the amendments to be proposed would have been to give enfranchisement to an extent such as would have made it necessary (unless an inconvenient increase of members of the House of Commons were resorted to) to disfranchise the boroughs contained in schedule A, which, with Weymouth, would cause a reduction of 113 members. Such was a part of the purport of the amendments referred to, but which he was sorry that the conduct of the noble Earl, in proposing a postponement of the bill, prevented from being brought forward at present. He must again express his unfeigned regret at the course taken by the noble Earl. (Cheers from the opposition, mingled with laughter from the ministerial side of the House.) He had just been reminded by a noble friend near him that there was one most important feature of the bill to which he had not alluded—he meant the 10*l.* qualification. To that, as being a uniform qualification, he had at a late period stated his strong and decided objections,—objections that arose in his mind not because the qualification was popular, but because it was uniform. He had stated his regret that under the operation of this qualification, would be excluded from direct representation in Parliament all the poorer classes, and he had thought it absolutely necessary that during the progress of the measure, their Lordships should consider whether it was not requisite, with a view to the permanence of any measure of reform, that they should continue in certain places a more popular right of voting. For a short period—namely, while existing rights of voting were preserved and respected—the

change might not be so much felt; but he contended, that it could not endure for any considerable period after the exclusion of all the humbler and poorer classes. One great advantage of the system which it was now proposed to overthrow was, that it gave direct representation to all classes of the community; that while it secured the rights of property against the dangers of popular passion and excitement, and gave a direct representation to wealth, it also conferred a like privilege on the very lowest orders, without risk from the evils of democracy. The merit of the old system was, that under it no interest could obtain an undue preponderance. He now threw out for the consideration of the House whether it was right to disturb this equilibrium—whether it would be safe prospectively to disfranchise all the poorer classes. He might here observe, that it was the intention of a noble friend of his to propose an amendment, to which he did not expect that the noble Earl opposite would offer any serious objection. He alluded to a motion, the object of which would be to prevent persons from voting for counties in respect of property lying within the limits of boroughs. He regretted the necessity imposed on him of stating in a manner so brief and imperfect the amendments which it had been proposed to suggest. One further remark, and he had done. With respect to the 10*l.* qualification, he thought there should be a more clear and certain mode of ascertaining the genuineness, reality, and value of holdings, and it was proposed to bring forward an amendment with that view.

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM observed, that with respect to the 10*l.* qualification, he could not quite go along with the noble Baron, because beyond the noble Lord's amendment he (the Duke of Buckingham) wished for an amendment to qualify, extend, and enlarge the franchise in particular districts.

Earl GREY said it was not his intention at so late an hour to trouble their Lordships, by entering into a discussion of the plan of reform suggested by the noble Baron, at this late period of the discussion. However, he could not avoid congratulating the noble Baron, and the House, on the progress which he had at length made in the principles of reform (hear), and also upon the extent to which he was now content to go in disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and (let it not be forgotten) extension of the popular qualification,—an extension greater than that contemplated by the destructive and revolutionary bill denounced by the noble Baron and his friends (cheers and laughter); greater and more extensive, inasmuch as the noble Lord had expressed his intention not to touch the 10*l.* qualification, and to preserve the scot-and-lot right of voting where it at present existed. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) The noble Lord objected to the uniformity of the 10*l.* qualification, and proposed to change and correct the democratical tendency of the bill by bestowing a more extensive elective franchise. All this was matter of congratulation. He must also congratulate the noble Baron on the proof he had given (by stating the various persons by whom certain propositions were to be made in committee, and by his prompt attention to a suggestion from the noble Lord near him)—the proof that there existed no concert whatsoever between noble Lords opposite in their operations. (Cheers and laughter.) He must here recur to what had been said by a noble Earl opposite, who expressed his regret that no communication had been made to that (the ministerial) side of the House as to the course intended to be taken by the opponents of the bill in committee, and he must observe, that this was the first time he had heard of any disposition to make such a concession on the part of noble Lords opposite. Personally he was not disposed to complain of a want of communication on the subject; but on the part of the House he did complain, that the intentions of the noble Baron, as he had just described them in his speech, and the amendments of the noble Lord and his friends, were not explained before coming to this vote. (Hear, hear.) For what would many noble Lords who voted with the noble Baron have said (more particularly the noble Duke opposite), if the noble Baron had previously explained to them the consequence of their vote, and informed them that he wished to render this democratic measure still more democratic? (Hear, hear.) It was not his intention to enter now upon a discussion of the noble Baron's principles of reform; that must remain for a future opportunity; but he might observe, that the noble Lord's plan was to involve a measure of disfranchisement to the extent of schedule A; yet, if such was the noble Baron's intention, surely he must regret, on more mature consideration, a vote which had thrown an obstacle in the way of the accomplishment of his own purpose by postponing the consideration of the clause. (Cheers and laughter.) The noble Baron proposed to abolish entirely schedules B and D. He (Earl Grey) might here state that this was a proposition in which it was impossible for him to concur. He again declared his intention to propose, that on the House resuming, the committee on the bill be deferred till Thursday. (Hear.) As to the charge of delay, which the noble Baron had attempted to fix on him (Earl Grey), he felt perfectly satisfied to rest under the accusation, being convinced that there was not a man in the country who would not see that he was justified in the course he had taken under the particular circumstances of this case.

After a few words from Lord ELDON, Lord HOLLAND, and the LORD CHANCELLOR, which did not reach the bar, in consequence of the confusion prevailing in the House,

The House re-umed, and the further consideration of the bill in committee was postponed till Thursday.

WEDNESDAY.—9th May.

At an early hour the body of the House was crowded with peers, the peeresses' box with ladies, the spaces near the throne and below the bar with members of the House of Commons, and the gallery with strangers; but it was not until a quarter past five o'clock that the Lord Chancellor took his seat on the woolsack.

Earl GREY immediately rose, and presented petitions against the existing system of tithes in Ireland, from Doncaster, Calne, Dumfries, Wigton, &c.

RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS.

Earl GREY then proceeded to the following effect:—And now, my Lords, after the proceedings of Monday last, and their result—after that night's debate and decision, your Lordships are probably prepared for the information which I feel it to be my duty to communicate to you. The result of that debate and decision certainly reduced me, in conjunction with my colleagues, to the alternative of either immediately withdrawing ourselves from the service of his Majesty, or of tendering to his Majesty our advice to take such means as appeared to us to be justified by the necessity of the case to ensure the success of the Reform Bill; and, in the event of that advice not being received, humbly and respectfully to tender our resignation to his Majesty. The last alternative was that which, after much consideration, we were induced to adopt. We offered to his Majesty the advice which we thought it our duty, under the circumstances of the times, to offer: the alternative was accepted by his Majesty, and he was graciously pleased to accept our resignation; at the same time honouring us with the fullest approbation of our services during the period that we have been in his Majesty's councils, during which period we have uniformly experienced from his Majesty a support and confidence for which I shall always feel most deeply grateful. My Lords, these are the circumstances under which we now stand. Having tendered to his Majesty our resignations, and those resignations having been accepted, and holding office therefore only until our successors are appointed, your Lordships will, I am sure, see the propriety of our not entering into the consideration of any public business on which it is probable a difference of opinion may prevail. Such being the case, it is not my intention to propose to morrow that we go on with the consideration of the Reform Bill. But there is a measure of great importance, the second reading of which stands for to-night—I mean the bill for the regulation of the Admiralty and Navy Offices. It is of great moment that this bill should pass with as little delay as possible, as it has received the sanction of the other House of Parliament, and as the time fixed for its coming into operation is the 14th of May. If, therefore, no material objection exists to that measure, I hope my noble Friend behind me will be allowed to proceed with it. If, however, there is any objection to it, or any probability of a difference of opinion respecting it, I propose that the proceeding upon it be deferred to a more convenient opportunity; for, as I have already observed, under the circumstances in which we are placed, I trust your Lordships will concur with me in the propriety of adjourning the consideration of all questions that are likely to produce anything like contest.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH intimated the probability that some debate would arise on the bill mentioned by the noble Earl, so that it might be expedient to defer the motion for the second reading.

Earl GREY said he had no objection to the postponement of the second reading.

The order of the day for the second reading of the Admiralty and Navy Offices Bill was accordingly discharged.

The LORD CHANCELLOR. My Lords, I hold in my hand a petition from Dewsbury, signed by above 3000 persons, who, I am informed, are of the most respectable description, in favour of parliamentary reform. I also hold in my hand a petition from the town of Birmingham, in favour of parliamentary reform. This petition was agreed to at a meeting which was held on the 7th of the present month. A petition proceeding from so large a body of persons appeared to me to be worthy of your Lordships' deepest consideration. I have read the petition attentively, and although it contains opinions in which some of your Lordships may not concur, it is couched in respectful language, and I cannot find in it any statement upon which its reception can be objected to. This petition is the result of a meeting, in numbers unexampled. I have been informed by an individual, on whom I can rely, that in the course of the day above 200,000 persons attended that meeting. For the accuracy of that estimate of course I cannot myself vouch; but I had it from an individual of great respectability, of great powers of calculation, and who, I am quite confident, is incapable of wilful misrepresentation. I will not trouble your Lordships with entering more fully into this subject; but I beg leave to state that I stand in the same situation as my noble Friend, having felt it my duty most respectfully to tender my resignation to his Majesty, in consequence of his Majesty's having declined the advice which we thought it our duty to offer him. In stating this, however, I must add, that to the latest hour of my existence, I shall never cease to entertain the deepest and most heartfelt gratitude for the repeated proofs of confidence which I have received from his Majesty, and for the gracious kindness with which his Majesty has always condescended to treat me. As the petition is signed only by the chairman of the meeting, it can in point of form be received only as the petition of an individual.

At the suggestion of the Earl of SUFFOLK, the petition was read at length by the Clerk.

The Earl of SUFFOLK: My Lords, I think

that petition does great credit to the people of Birmingham. I congratulate myself on moving from this side of the House to that. I congratulate the country on the change; for I am persuaded that in opposition my noble Friends near me may be infinitely serviceable. In opposition they were the instruments of giving freedom to the Catholics of Ireland and to the Dissenters of England. But, above all, I congratulate the people on the firm but peaceable manner in which they have shown their determination to obtain Parliamentary Reform. By their temperate and conciliatory conduct they have won it from their friends; let them proceed in the same course, and they will extort it from their enemies. (Hear, hear, hear!)

The Earl of PLYMOUTH observed, that at meetings such as that from which the Birmingham petition proceeded, many persons attended, not for the purpose of meeting, but influenced solely by curiosity. He denied that there was the intense anxiety among the people, on the subject of reform, which was pretended. He denied the general respectability of the Political Unions; at least of those of which he had any knowledge. With respect to the particular meeting in question, it would not appear surprising that it was so numerous when it was known that a district of from fourteen to eighteen miles in circumference had been ransacked to collect an assembly for the occasion; and that in some of the unions it was a rule that any person above twelve years of age was eligible as a member.

The Lord CHANCELLOR did not wish to prolong the conversation on this subject. He would merely observe, that there could be no doubt that there might be some men, women, and children, who were induced to attend the Meeting from motives of curiosity; but from the information which he had received, there could also be no doubt that the great body and bulk of the persons who assembled on that occasion were most anxious for the furtherance of the objects for which the Meeting was convened. When they were talking of hundreds of thousands, it was a matter of little importance if a few hundreds were liable to the remark of the Noble Earl. He was happy, however, that the noble Earl had afforded him an opportunity of stating the loyal and peaceable demeanour of the great Meeting in question. In no single instance had there been the slightest violation of peace or order.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH observed, that if the order for proceeding with the Reform Bill in Committee to-morrow were discharged, another day should be fixed for that proceeding,

Earl GREY said, that he should move to discharge the order for to-morrow; but that he saw no necessity for naming any other day (a laugh).

Lord DURHAM presented petitions from Yeovil and Perth, in favour of Parliamentary Reform; and a petition from Durham for the abolition of Negro Slavery.

The Earl of CARNARVON: the noble Earl has moved that the order of the day for proceeding to-morrow with the consideration of the Reform Bill in committee be discharged. My Lords, I do not think that we shall do our duty to our Sovereign, left by the extraordinary conduct of the noble Earl and his colleagues in a most difficult if not a most perilous situation, if we permit this order to be so contemptuously discharged, and abandon the measure now, because we expressed our wish—a wish which we share with the great majority of intelligent persons of the country—to proceed with it on the most liberal and conciliatory principles (a laugh, and cries of hear, hear!). Because the mode of proceeding which your lordships have thought proper to adopt, with respect to the bill, is not exactly that of which the noble Lords opposite approve: — because the alphabetical arrangement which the noble Lords opposite recommend, your lordships have not thought it proper to follow—because your lordships decline to consider schedules A and B until you have considered schedules C and D;—such are the only grounds on which the noble Lords opposite have proceeded. My Lords, the noble Lords opposite may act as they think fit: we know the grounds, the slight grounds, which their defeat on Monday evening afforded them for one of the most atrocious propositions with which a subject ever dared to insult the ears of the Sovereign. We have heard, and it was what I naturally expected to hear, that his Majesty, who was among the first to recommend reform upon broad and constitutional principles, finding himself reduced to the alternative to which his Ministers ventured to reduce him, has acted as became a Sovereign of the House of Brunswick; and, by so doing, he has established an additional title to the respect and affection of his subjects. But, my Lords, it shall not go forth to the public, because the noble Lords opposite, whatever may be the motives which have influenced them, have determined to abandon the measure, it shall not go forth to the public that this House is unwilling to enter into the discussion of its merits. This bill must be discussed, unless the majority of your lordships, which I do not believe, are opposed to that discussion. If, therefore, the order of the day, for proceeding to-morrow with the consideration of the measure, be discharged, I will move *instanter* that it stand for Monday next. Should it be impracticable to bring the subject forward on so early a day, it may easily be postponed; whereas, if it be fixed for too late a day, we cannot advance the period of the discussion. I, therefore, move that your lordships proceed with the consideration of the Reform Bill in committee on Monday next.

Earl GREY: My Lords, I am too much accustomed to the ill-timed, violent, personal, and unparliamentary language of the noble Earl who has just sat down, to be much af-

fected by the most disorderly attack which the noble Earl has made upon my colleagues and myself. Nor is it for the defence of myself personally against the imputations which the noble Earl has thought proper to cast upon me, that I again rise to address your Lordships. I trust, my Lords, that in the estimation of your Lordships and of the public, my character is such, that I may without presumption consider myself as sufficiently guarded from the danger of suffering from such imputations. (Hear, hear, hear.) The noble Earl has been pleased to qualify the advice which I thought it my duty respectfully to tender to my Sovereign, as atrocious and insulting; and there were other noble Lords on that side of the House who appeared to agree with the noble Earl in that opinion. All I can say is, that I deferred giving that advice until the very last moment; that I did not give it until the necessity of the case and my sense of public duty imposed upon me an obligation which appeared to me to be imperative. Whether I was right or wrong is a question which, whenever the noble Lord opposite may think proper to bring it under discussion before your Lordships, I am prepared to argue and to defend my conduct in the best way I can. But I appeal to your Lordships and to the country, whether, until that period shall arrive, I am called upon, whatever sinister motives the noble Earl may attribute to me, to notice the accusation.—[The Earl of Carnarvon said across the table that he did not impute sinister motives to the noble Earl]. The feeling which prompts the noble Earl to make his violent addresses to your Lordships, is such as sometimes to render him unconscious of the language he uses. If, however, the noble Earl disclaims the expression which I quoted, of course I do not wish to insist upon that point. I repeat, that the advice which I offered to my Sovereign, when the proper time comes I am prepared to defend; and in the meanwhile, I throw myself upon the candour of your Lordships and of the country, and ask if it be possible that I could have been actuated by any other motive than a strict sense of duty? Having as a Minister of the Crown given the advice which I thought it my duty to give, and that advice not having been accepted, I had no alternative but most humbly and respectfully to tender my resignation to his Majesty. The noble Earl says that the grounds on which we proceeded were only trifling; that they were only mere matters of form; that, in point of fact, it was only if the discussion of the schedules C and D should or should not precede the discussion of the schedules A and B. If that was really the case, then the noble Earl is right: but that was not the case. In the debate on Monday evening, I distinctly stated to your Lordships the reasons which rendered it evident to me that the question which we were discussing was of the utmost importance, and that it materially affected the principle of the Bill. The principle of the Bill is, to relieve the Constitution from the numerous evils which result from the existence of the nomination boroughs. The proposition made to your Lordships on Monday was, to postpone the consideration of that subject to the consideration of another; and make depend on that other the disfranchisement which the bill tended first to remove. That was a very material change in the character of the measure. But, my Lords, that is not all. In what situation was the author of the bill placed after the question of Monday evening was carried? The noble Earl said in that discussion, that he was disposed to grant a considerable Reform; but I did not hear any other noble Lord on that side of the House say so, except a noble Lord who expressed his willingness to agree to the whole of the disfranchisement comprehended in Schedule A. But by whom was the proposition of Monday evening made? By a noble and learned Lord, who, in the course of the very speech which he made on that occasion, stated that he still considered the bill to be inconsistent with the safety of the Government and subversive of the Constitution. What right had we to suppose that the noble and learned Lord would support the disfranchising portions of the bill when they came to be considered? And by whom was the noble and learned Lord's proposition supported? In the first place, by a noble Duke, who has declared that the present state of the representation is incapable of being amended by human ingenuity or wisdom. By whom else was that proposition supported? By another noble Duke, who has declared himself hostile to any disfranchisement—by a noble Baron, who expressed his hope that, by adopting the proposition of the noble and learned Lord, their Lordships might entirely avoid the necessity of any disfranchisement. My Lords, under these circumstances, is it not childish to say that the question decided by your Lordships on Monday was merely one of form or precedence (hear, hear, hear!)? In the circumstances in which that decision placed me, I had first to see whether I could obtain the means of insuring the success of the measure; and having failed in that attempt, I had to consider whether it would be consistent with my duty to my Sovereign and to the public, and with the maintenance of my own character and honour, to continue the mere shadow of a Minister, and to have the Reform Bill taken out of my hands, for the purpose of being cut, carved, mutilated, and destroyed, just as its opponents might think proper (hear, hear, hear!). My Lords, I am convinced that in the opinion of all your Lordships, even of those noble Lords who do not approve of the Reform Bill, the course which I have taken will be attributed only to a sense of the duty which I owe to my Sovereign and my country, and a sense of what was due to that personal honour which, I trust, I have never yet forfeited (hear, hear!). I stand before the public responsible for my actions. I am ready to meet any charge which may be brought against me, and to vindicate my con-

duct and my motives whenever the proper occasion may arrive (hear, hear!). One word, my Lords, as to what the noble Earl has chosen to call the contemptuous manner in which I have moved to discharge the Order for to-morrow. It is the usual motion on such occasions. It is not for me to appoint any other day. Even the noble Earl finds a difficulty in doing so. For myself, I certainly cannot proceed with the bill under the circumstances which have occurred. I trust that out of all these unhappy differences, a measure of Reform may eventually arise, extensive, efficient, and beneficial (if not extensive and efficient, it will not be beneficial)—a measure which may be satisfactory to the country, and which may restore the attachment of the people to the institutions of the State. But it is impossible for me to proceed with the measure, subject to the daily alterations which might be forced upon me by a majority, four-fifths of which consist of persons who object to all Reform whatever. To the unjust, the ill-timed, and I will add, the unprovoked attack of the noble Earl, I should, perhaps, not have considered it necessary to make any answer, had I not been desirous to set set myself right with your Lordships and with the public, with reference to the motives which have influenced me, and the sense of duty under which I have acted (hear, hear!).

The Earl of CARNARVON disclaimed any intention of imputing to the noble Earl a contemptuous feeling, or of charging him with sinister motives. He had certainly conceived that the alternative to which the noble Earl had originally alluded was the making of such a number of peers as would have degraded that House. But he never meant to impute to him that he recommended so tremendous a proceeding merely to escape the mortification of being occasionally outvoted in that House. When he said that it was the most atrocious advice that a Minister ever gave to his Sovereign, he said it in perfect good temper; if warmly, it was because as a member of that House he felt warmly on the subject. If such atrocious counsel as that he alluded to were not given to his Majesty, but some other alternative, the nature of which he was at a loss to conceive, he begged pardon for having used the expression. After the attack which had been made upon him by the noble Earl (a laugh), he must be allowed—

Lord DOVER spoke to order. The noble Earl ought to confine himself to explanation.

The Earl of CARNARVON observed, in continuation, that having made a motion of no small importance, he was entitled to reply even at much greater length. The noble Earl had said that he (Lord Carnarvon) was, perhaps, in a state of irritation, which, perhaps, precluded him from being conscious of the language which he used. He could assure the noble Earl and their Lordships that he spoke not in anger but in dismay. If he was not wrong in supposing that such advice as had been alluded to had been given to the country (and that had not been contradicted), he asked if ever, on such slight grounds, a proposal had been made, the tendency of which was absolute destruction of that House and the annihilation of its legislative and political importance—and made in the spirit of that dictation, which, from the beginning to the end of their course, had marked the proceedings of the noble Lords opposite; and which induced them to endeavour to make their Lordships the abject tools of their will? The motion which he had made he had made to enable every peer to show his conviction (and although there might be some differences of opinion, that he was satisfied was the general feeling) that, in the present state of the country, their Lordships had no choice, but were under the necessity of conceding some considerable, and as safe as possible, reform. It was highly desirable that this opportunity should be afforded as soon as possible. He called upon their Lordships, therefore, not to adjourn the question to any distant period. He would, therefore, propose that the order be made for Monday; and if on that day a further postponement should be considered necessary, it might occur. At present, however, he did not see any reason why the subject might not be brought forward on Monday.

The motion, that the House would on Monday proceed with the consideration of the Reform Bill in committee, was then agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

9th May, 1832.

Lord ALTHORP entered the House before five o'clock, and was received with cheers from the treasury benches. He rose shortly after, and said it was his duty to state to the House, that in consequence of what took place in another place on Monday last, it appeared quite impossible to his Majesty's Government to hope that they could carry the Reform Bill in such a manner as they thought consistent with their duty, or without such alterations as would render it so inefficient, that, according to the pledges they had given, they could not carry it forward. Under these circumstances they had only the alternative to tender their resignations, or to advise his Majesty to take such measures as would enable them to carry it as it ought to be carried; and if his Majesty did not accede to their request, to tender him their resignations. They adopted the latter course. The result had been that they tendered their resignations, which his Majesty was graciously pleased to accept. Consequently they now only held office until their successors should be appointed. It was impossible for him, however, to leave office without expressing for himself, as he believed he might for all his colleagues, his and their sense of the kindness and condescension with which they had been uniformly treated, since they held office,

by his Majesty. For himself he could say, that the mode in which his Majesty had always treated him, and the condescension he had invariably displayed towards him, was such as to ensure his gratitude as long as he lived. He had now stated all it was necessary for him to state, and would move that the order of the day for the second reading of the Scotch Reform Bill be read, for the purpose of proposing its postponement.

Lord EBRINGTON, after expressing his regret (as we imagine) that a measure which had been sanctioned by so great a majority of that House was defeated in another place, proceeded to say, that under the circumstances, he felt it his duty to propose a motion to-morrow, of which he would now give notice. To-morrow he would move an humble address of that House to his Majesty on the present state of public affairs (cheers), and although he supposed that every Gentleman, whatever might be his opinion, would attend on the occasion, he would move that this House be called over to-morrow.

Mr. G. LANGTON was of opinion, that nothing short of the present measure of reform would satisfy the people.

Mr. HUME observed, that he was bound in justice to say, that the noble Lord and his colleagues had, as Ministers, now no other course to follow. He did state that, in his opinion, they had done honour to themselves; and not in his opinion only, but in that of the whole country. He had extremely to regret, that the just expectations of a united people, carried on from day to day, and so long, unfortunately, kept in suspense, were now likely to meet with complete frustration. As a true reformer, and a lover of his country, he could not but regret to see that the cause of reform had been interrupted. He had hoped that the noble Earl would have been enabled, by the same support and countenance wherewith he had introduced the measure, to bring it to a prosperous conclusion. (Hear, hear.) For himself, he waited with impatience for the motion of the noble Lord (Ebrington) to-morrow; and he trusted that, to refuse that motion, every man would adopt that course the purity of that body. For his own part, which the interests of the country, the dignity of that House, and the public peace required.

Lord ALTHORP said, that it appeared to him, that in the present crisis of the country, and in the present state of public affairs, any measure that might throw impediments in the way of the new Administration ought to be cautiously avoided (Hear, hear, hear), and would be exceedingly impolitic. (Hear, hear, hear.) Therefore he should much wish that his noble Friend had postponed any appeal to the opinion of the House, until the new Administration was formed. (Cheers.)

Sir J. NEWPORT differed with his noble Friend; he hoped the noble Lord (Ebrington) would not withdraw his motion. (Hear, hear.) It was well, in times like these, that the opinion of the majority of the House should be ascertained. It was essential to the well-being of the country that it should be unequivocally and firmly expressed. He hoped, however, that the noble Lord would reconsider the call of the House. It could not be effectual, as notice could not be given to the Members absent from town.

Mr. LABOUCHERE entreated the noble Lord to persevere in his motion. If the House now shrunk from their duty, he, for one, feared that the greatest calamities must follow. If the House did what the country had a right to expect from it, the country would receive with sorrow, but in a peaceful manner, the intelligence which would be communicated to it; but if the House did not, as was its duty, place itself in the front of the battle—if they were such cravens as to allow a Government which had honourably redeemed its pledges to be driven from their seats by a vote of the other House, he, for one, should have most melancholy anticipations. (Hear, hear.) He could not avoid contemplating scenes at which every man must shudder.

Mr. O'CONNELL thought the Government had acted well and wisely in resigning. His hon. Friend (Hume) had talked of the hopes of the people of England being frustrated. That, he believed, was impossible. All England had spoken, and had sent a great majority of reformers to Parliament for all open places. The only question was, would they be firm to themselves, or would they shrink from the contest with a sordid oligarchy? If the people of England were true to themselves, and insisted on reform, they must have it. The people of Scotland, he knew, did manfully insist on reform, and when they had so come forward, they never yet had failed. They had won the toleration creed they loved by their good broad swords, and now, without them, and by constitutional means, he had no doubt they would win reform. For Ireland, he could merely say, that the universal people would not shrink from their share of the contest. He hoped the noble Lord would persevere, and he trusted no member would absent himself to-morrow. He hoped no man who had flattered the people with his vote on reform would now shrink from his duty in coming forward. Indeed, he had too great confidence in the majority of that House to suppose that it contained a skulker or a recreant. Let all then attend, and let them firmly and respectfully send forth an address to the Throne, which would inform his Majesty that the truly loyal and those most attached to the succession of the House of Brunswick were the most determined that the rights of the people should be restored.

Mr. JAMES put a question, which was understood to be a request to know whether the noble Lord would communicate to the House the cause of that resignation which he had just announced.

Lord ALTHORP said that he did not know that he was at liberty to state more at present, than that his colleagues and himself had

tendered their resignation, and that that resignation had been accepted.

Mr. BARING observed, that he did not affect to give advice to the noble Lord opposite, nor to that House, but if they were to be called upon to make that sort of declaration of which they had heard from gentlemen who told them of agitation, he should wish to suggest to those honourable gentlemen, whether that agitation was not of their own creating. (Cheers from the opposition.) He trusted that that House, when it came to consider of the question which the noble Lord opposite was to propound to them to-morrow, and which it would then be time enough to enter upon, he begged, he said, to put forward his hope and expectation that that House would—and if it did not, it would not answer the expectations of the sound and sensible part of the country—that it would, while it asserted its own opinions with proper firmness, do so with due respect for the opinions of the other branch of the Legislature, and that if they were warned by the friends of the measure—as warned they had been not to act the part of cravens—he trusted they would also abstain from acting the part of bullies. (Cheers from the opposition.) He had risen chiefly for the purpose of suggesting to the noble Lord, whether it was not the custom, on a Minister coming down to that House on an occasion on which an administration had broken up, to state the grounds of that advice on the rejection of which it had broken up. He recollected an occasion on which the noble Earl at the head of the Government that had just retired—he meant in the year 1807—then explained to the House the grounds on which he had been compelled to retire. At present, except from mere rumour out of doors, they knew nothing. All that they knew was, that certain advice had been tendered by the Ministers to his Majesty, which his Majesty had rejected, and therefore his Ministers had resigned; and on that scanty knowledge they were to have the extravagant cheering they had heard on one side, and the denunciations of the conduct of his Majesty, which they had heard on the other—denunciations for so accepting their resignation. (Loud cries of "No, no;" answered by "Hear, hear.") They were not there to speak of the personal actions of his Majesty, but the Ministers whose resignations had been so tendered and accepted, made that sort of complaint (no, no!)—or that sort of statement of their case, as, if he was correct in his estimation of it, seemed to him hardly decorous towards the Crown, at least if the Crown did not know what that advice was—the consequences of the rejection of which they received in that House with so much indignation. (Hear, hear.) For if gentlemen cheered the conduct of the Government so loudly, he took it for granted that they knew what that advice had been, and that they were acquainted with the fact, whether the unprecedented demand upon the King was to create sixty or seventy peers, and whether that was the advice which he had rejected; and when this sort of language which they had heard was used, and when the country was thus called upon to make a declaration in favour of the Government, it was of importance to know whether that advice was what he would call the most outrageous and unconstitutional that could possibly be given. (Cheers from the opposition.) He could only say, that he was mistaken in the opinions and feelings of the people of England, if a great majority of them, instead of participating in the sentiments expressed by his honourable relative opposite, did not participate in the objections he himself felt at the proposal of so unheard-of a violation of the constitution. (Hear, hear.) Whether the advice given by the Ministers was good or bad, they should probably hear to-morrow. All that he could say was, that in his opinion it was fitting for the country to know what that advice was; and, speaking for himself, he must say, that the country ought to know it, because, without knowing it, they could not judge between the Crown and the Ministers.

Colonel DAVIES said, that although he differed entirely from the hon. member for Thetford on the question of reform; and although he should cordially co-operate with the noble Lord opposite in bringing forward the discussion to-morrow, he could not help thinking with the honourable Member for Thetford, that he ought, in justice to his Majesty, to give some declaration to the House as to the advice they had given his Majesty, and the rejection of which by his Majesty had caused their resignation. If the advice was what it was supposed to be, he must say, that more extravagant or unconstitutional advice never could have been given. (Cheers from the opposition.) It had been understood that the King had always hitherto given the Government his support in every constitutional plan which they proposed, and it ought therefore to be known what was the advice they had given to his Majesty on this occasion. He had heard that not only had the Ministers demanded the power of creating sixty or seventy peers, as the honourable Member for Thetford supposed, but that they had asked that a *carte blanche* should be given them to create one hundred peers if necessary. That demand was not at first refused—the King had taken time to consider it, and when he had considered, he refused it. That was what he (Colonel Davies) had heard; and if that was true, he must say, that in his opinion his Majesty was perfectly justified. That was the report. The noble Lord had not told them one word upon the subject; and he thought that they ought to have a further explanation, that would place this matter in a clear and distinct light.

Sir R. PEEL: Sir, I shall not anticipate the discussion which the noble Lord proposes to bring on to-morrow; but I beg to express my entire concurrence with the observations made by the hon. member for Thetford, and the

gallant colonel near me, that it is essential, in conformity with the usages observed on occasions like the present, that the noble Lord should state distinctly what are the causes of the dissolution of the Government. I do not press upon the noble Lord to answer that question now; but I do trust and believe, that, upon reflection, he will see that that is the course which has been pursued under similar circumstances, and that he will solicit the permission of his Majesty to explain in detail the circumstances which have caused his resignation. We are not in the habit of referring to the personal acts of the Sovereign, for that which he does is usually done under the advice and on the responsibility of his Ministers; but the choice and the acceptance of the resignation of Ministers are almost the only personal acts that the King ever performs, and with the cause of these we ought to be made acquainted. It is, above all things, necessary, before we take the step now recommended to us, especially in the present peculiar crisis of affairs, that we should know what are the causes which have led to the resignation of the Ministers. If the noble Lord has not the permission of his Majesty, it would be improper to ask him now to make the disclosure of those causes; but I must say that I think he should request permission of his Majesty to do so, in order to give the information to the House.

Mr. JAMES said that he only put a question to the noble Lord, but without the slightest wish of drawing from him any statement which he might think it imprudent to make. He begged to say that he differed entirely from the right hon. Baronet, the member for Tamworth, and from the gallant Colonel. The most just proposition, and the most constitutional advice, the Ministers could have given the King would have been to create any number of peers that might be necessary to carry the question of reform. (Cheers and cries of "No.") He knew that was not the opinion of the anti-reformers, nor of the pretended friends of reform, of whom there were a great many. (Cheers.) He thought it would be found that that was the only measure that could be adopted to prevent the collision of the two Houses of Parliament.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE hoped the noble Lord opposite would persevere in his intention. It was necessary that the people of England should know who were the waverers in that House (cheers), and who were the men that would consistently support the vote which they had given last year, and which, in his opinion, ought now to be repeated. (Hear, hear.) With respect to what the right hon. Baronet had said, he thought that the noble Lord would be guilty of a breach of confidence if he were to state what was the advice that his colleagues had given to the King. The noble Lord had stated sufficient when he told them, that in consequence of what had occurred in another place on Monday night (No, no, from the opposition); yes, in consequence of what had occurred the other night, they had resigned, because the advice which that occurrence had induced them to give to his Majesty had not been accepted. What was that advice? What but that Ministers would not allow the Reform Bill to pass in that mutilated form by which the country and the people would be deceived. He hoped that the noble Lord would not ask the permission of the King, recommended by the right hon. Baronet. The people of the whole country would stand by the Ministers; and as to the agitation that was talked of, that agitation would and ought to continue until that power which had been taken from them was restored to them,—being taken from the hands of those who had wrested it from them by the grossest hypocrisy and treachery. (Hear, hear.)

Lord ALTHORP. I wish particularly to say, that in what I stated to the House at first, I most carefully avoided throwing any blame on any one, and especially blame of the nature insinuated by the right hon. Baronet. I hope I so expressed myself as to guard myself from the possibility of any misconstruction. With respect to what the right hon. Baronet has said with regard to further explanations, I can only observe, that I do not feel myself authorised at present to say more than I have said. I wish it to be understood, that I do not pledge myself that I shall make any further statement at any future time, but that at present I have stated all I am at present authorised to state. The hon. Member for Thetford has stated the case of 1807 as an example for the present occasion. I was then a member of this House, and I remember that what he states as then taking place is quite true. The noble Earl did make a statement of considerable length, as to the causes of the resignation of himself and his colleagues, but the hon. Member will recollect, that there were then circumstances which called for a full explanation, but to which there is nothing analogous in the present case. The reports which were then in existence varied much from each other. There were then imputations on the character and conduct of the Ministers, and it was necessary for them to obtain from his Majesty permission to make the statement. Such circumstances do not at present exist, and there is not in the case now so much of complexity as on that occasion, and therefore I do not think myself called on to make a more detailed statement than I have done.

Mr. MACAULAY: I should have said nothing, Sir, upon this subject, but for the remarks which have fallen from the hon. member for Thetford; but, in the first place, I wish to confirm my noble friend in his statement, that, in all the observations he made, there was not one single syllable that, in the slightest degree, could be construed as disrespectful to his Majesty. (Hear, hear.) And as we are on the eve of a discussion of importance, and which is likely to pro-

duce considerable agitation in the country, I protest, in the name of every Member of this House, against that unconstitutional doctrine, that doctrine so subversive of the freedom of debate, that the Members of this House, who speak with approbation of the conduct of the Ministers, or who say that they regret that the advice given by the Ministers was not adopted and acted upon, shall be construed to have spoken inconsistently with that affection which we all feel for the person, the House, and the office of our Sovereign. (Hear, hear.) I claim the freedom of speech for myself and for all the Members of this House collectively—that freedom of speech which you, Sir, on the first day of the meeting of this Parliament, claimed for us from the King; and I demand that any remarks we may make on the change of Administration shall not be construed into the expression of any doubt that our Sovereign, in all the conduct he has pursued, has been actuated by any other motive than the most sincere and single desire to promote the good of his people. (Cheers.) I shall now, Sir, say no more, than to entreat my noble Friend to persevere in the motion of which he has given notice.

Mr. BARING explained.

Lord MILTON fully concurred with what had fallen from the honourable and learned Member who had just addressed them. He was desirous of making one remark upon what had fallen from the right honourable Baronet opposite, who had stated that there were but two personal acts of the Kingly Government—of which the choice of Ministers was one, and the acceptance of their resignation another. He was afraid that if that opinion, so expressed, by a gentleman of high character in that House, received the unopposed sanction of the House, there would be an end of the responsibility of the Crown. He thought that, for the sake of public peace and tranquillity, they must maintain that the responsibility, in both cases, rested on the official advisers of the Crown.

Sir. R. PEEL could not see the danger the noble Lord apprehended. When a man accepted an office tendered him, he became responsible; but the tender itself was surely an act of the Crown.

Lord EBRINGTON pledged himself to persevere in the motion for to-morrow. On any other occasion he should readily adopt the suggestion of his noble Friend, but on the present he thought that the public interest imperiously demanded the discussion he proposed. The people ought to know what was the opinion of that House, and whether hon. members would repeat the declaration which they had last year made of their firm attachment to the principles of the Reform Bill. He should also persevere in insisting on a call of the house, not with a view of enforcing the attendance of members who were at a great distance, but in order to secure the attendance of all those who were now in or near London, that their opinions might be known to their constituents.

THE GERMAN FROWS.

A CORRESPONDENT calls upon me to inquire, why these nasty, freckled, rough-hided, half-masculine devils are suffered to carry on their *puddling traffic* in England, and to such an extent as they do it. They are, as he truly says, *everywhere*; for, last summer, I saw a couple of the filthy beasts lying under a hedge *lousing one another*, near Swallowfield, in *Berkshire*; and last winter I saw several of them tramping about in their skull-caps and kelts, in the towns in *Yorkshire*. These wretches cannot have *licenses*; agreeably to *the law*, they *cannot* have them. And, why are these nasty devils to be suffered to set the law at defiance? If an *English* woman were to *hawk* without a license, she would be *instantly* fined, or *imprisoned*. Why, then, are these German devils exempted from the effects of law? What *claim* have *they* to this special indulgence? What the bad-favoured devils rake together, they send away, I dare say, to their beggarly homes. How long, how long, O Lord! are we to endure the injury and the disgrace which these nasty impudent devils are inflicting upon us? The people ought, everywhere, to seize them, take them before the nearest magistrate, give them a dance upon the tread-mill, and then let them go back to cry "*Py a proom*" in the beggarly holes out of which they have crept.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1832.

BANKRUPTS.

ACRES, H. W., Shadwell-market, victualler.
BAKER, R., and J. Harley, Southampton, stone-masons.
BATH, W., Bayswater, victualler.
BIRNIE, J. R., Basingstoke, Hampshire, and Finley, Surrey, wharfinger.
BUTTERWORTH, W., Oldham and Heaton Norris, cotton-spinner.
DENSEM, W., Bath, tailor.
EDMONSON, T., Carlisle, upholsterer.
FIELDING, J., and W. Tebbutt, Manchester, cotton-merchants.
HEATH, J., and S. Powell, Bristol, batters.
KIFT, A., Bristol and Bedminster, apothecary.
LINES, W., and J. Fisher, Ipswich, maltsters.

LUNGLEY, J., Tottenham-street, Tottenham-court-road, druggist.
MAY, J., Bristol, and Narbeth, Pembrokeshire, corn-merchant.
PARKER, W. B., Bristol, scrivener.
PRESTINARI, F., Leather-lane, Holborn, looking-glass-manufacturer.
RUSSELL, W. & J., Southampton, upholsterers.
SAVAGE, R., Whitechapel, cheesemonger.
TONGE, J. and W. S., Sittingbourne, Kent, linen-drapers.
WARD, J., Manchester, commission-agent.
WARREN, J., Ellingham, Norfolk, currier.

TUESDAY, MAY 8, 1832.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

GIBBON, J. jun., City Canal, Poplar, mast and block-maker.

BANKRUPTS.

APPLEYARD, J., Leeds, dyer.
BLACKFORD, J., Devonport, watchmaker.
COCHRANE, J., Waterloo-place, Pall Mall, bookseller.
COOPER, G., Exeter, stationer.
COPE, E., Birmingham, liquor-merchant.
CREAGHE, R. and C., Dublin, merchants.
DILLON, J., and A. Steward, Mincing-lane, wine-brokers.
EVANS, J., Chester, Norfolk, needle-maker and innkeeper.
FAULKNER, W. C., Dublin, merchant.
HEAWARD, J., Rochdale, Lancashire, farmer.
ROGERS, J., Rochdale, Lancashire, draper.
SHEPPARD, G., Almondsbury, Gloucestershire, victualler.
TEMPLE, J., Myton, Kingston-upon-Hull, common-brewer.
WALKER, T., High Holborn, tallow-chandler.
WAREING, W., Hollowell, Northamptonshire, miller.
WHITWORTH, R., and J. Bennett, Horwich, Lacashire, cotton-spinners.
WILLIAMS, T., Newport, Monmouthshire, rope and twine-spinner.
YOUNG, B., Downham-market, Norfolk, common-brewer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MAY 7.—Our supplies have been rather limited since this day se'nnight, as to English wheat, barley, oats, rye, beans, and peas: of Irish, Scotch, and foreign wheat, foreign barley, English and Scotch malt, Irish oats, English, Irish, and Scotch flour, the supply was moderately good: of seeds, from all quarters, very limited.

This day's market was tolerably well attended both by London and country buyers; but the trade, owing to advanced prices being stiffly demanded, was very dull, at but little, if any, variation from last week's quotations.

Wheat	53s. to 67s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	25s. to 34s.
——— fine	35s. to 42s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
——— Boilers	35s. to 38s.
——— Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
——— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	26s. to 29s.
—— Poland	24s. to 27s.
—— Feed	20s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new	44s. to 49s. per cwt.
——— Sides, new	48s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	130s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	75s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to 86s. per cwt.
——— Carlow	70s. to 80s.
——— Cork	80s. to 82s.
——— Limerick	80s. to 82s.
——— Waterford	70s. to —s.
——— Dublin	74s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
——— Gloucester, Double	52s. to 62s.
——— Gloucester, Single	42s. to 56s.
——— Edam	49s. to 54s.
——— Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	64s. to 68s.

SMITHFIELD.—May 7.

This day's market exhibited throughout a good supply, but the trade was dull; with mutton at a depression of 2*d.*—veal from 2*d.* to 4*d.* per stone; with beef, lamb, and pork, at barely Friday's prices.

Beasts, 2,585; sheep and lambs, 16,390; calves, 133; pigs, 190.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 11.

The supplies this week are good. The market is very dull, and the prices 1*s.* lower than on Monday, with very little business doing.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	84⅝	85	85	84⅜	84	83⅞

At No. 149, Leadenhall-Street,

BLACK TEA is sold at 4*s.*; 4*s.* 2*d.*; 4*s.* 4*d.*; 4*s.* 6*d.*; 4*s.* 8*d.*; and 5*s.*

East India Tea Company's Offices for agencies, 9, Great St. Helens, Bishopgate-Street.

Just Published price 5*s.*

MEDICINA SIMPLEX; or, THE PILGRIM'S WAY BOOK: being an Inquiry into the Moral and Physical Conditions of a Healthy Life and Happy Old Age. With Household Prescriptions by a Physician.

London: Keating and Brown.

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